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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CSSR'S SECRET POLICE REPORTEDLY SPYING ON EMIGRES

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German No 20, 13 May 83 p 58

[Article by Ota Filip]

[Text] Most of the applicants for asylum who fled last year from the CSSR to the Federal Republic of Germany are afflicted by the specific Czechoslovak schizophrenia or by the syndrome of forcible normalization which they had to suffer during the past 14 years. They have indeed understood how to arrange things with the system while secretly gnashing their teeth. They lived relatively well, in terms of the general misery of economic and spiritual life in the country. They were not bothered by the power apparatus. However, at some point, they recognized the gap between the officially trumpeted happy socialist pseudo-reality and their secret longings. These terrified, insecure persons then confronted a choice: Either we give up and transform ourselves into cold-blooded cynics, or we have to do something about our position. To do something about our position means just one thing in Prague: Leave. The slogan of the 35th year after the Communist power grab in 1948 simply is: Run for your lives! Every man for himself!

The atmospheric disturbances which in Prague make it difficult for people to breathe are apparent from a quote from a young woman's letter, who wrote as follows: "Together with my husband, I have reached the conclusion that every day here is not only lost but robs us of our energy and vitality. The hopes which we still seem to have are nothing more than a despairing attempt to protect ourselves against a general depression, by which we ourselves have already been afflicted too often. Two years ago, we knew how to give hope to others; today we avoid our friends, so as not to infect them with our despair. For many, flight from the CSSR is simply just a flight, for others it is a type of justified mutiny, and for many again an expression of longing for the wide, free world. We two are now convinced that we must leave Prague. We regard flight as the only chance to preserve our integrity. In written form, my sentences surely appear too pathetic, but in principle the matter is quite simple..."

"One day I decided that I was at the outermost limit," an engineer told me, who now is a refugee in Königsee. "One more step, and I would forever have become a broken cynic. I did indeed have everything that a CSSR citizen can have, but I could no longer stand the pressure of the propaganda machinery. I know that here I am not a real political refugee, although I told quite a different story to the Federal agencies. I simply am a person who has been traumatized by a totalitarian system, who wants to lick his wounds here, and, at the same time, wants to enjoy life a little."

Two years ago, the Czech state tried to motivate its escaped citizens to return to their socialist home. Fathers, mothers, siblings, grandfathers, grandmothers of the escaped "traitors" were sent from the CSSR to Germany in order to tell the refugees, in the name of the authoritative agencies: If you come back, all will be forgotten, a good job is assured, and you will even get an apartment. When it turned out that these visits by relatives were a mistake - I don't know of a single refugee who allowed himself to be lured back - the party and the Secret Police got an idea. Two or at the latest three months after their flight, the applicants for asylum get a visit from the CSSR. This time, the fathers and mothers do not come to convince the wicked enemy of the state to return, but to get other information. Since, the applicant for asylum naturally does not have the money to pay hotel or rooming for his relatives, the peculiar visitors stay in the homes of the refugees. There is no problem about food either; the visitors eat with the rest of the residents.

I met one of the numerous visitors from the CSSR in a refugee home in Munich. The father of a "traitor" spent six weeks in the home for political refugees, played cards and chess with enemies of the state from all of Eastern Europe, and looked around in the home. Only on the last evening before his departure for Prague, his conscience stirred and the man revealed the following to me: "My son was not yet three weeks in an enemy foreign country, and the comrades of the Secret Police already sent me for a visit to Germany! Naturally, when I come home, the day after tomorrow, I will have to give a written report concerning the information that I have gathered here for six weeks. Names, affairs, difficulties, and problems of the refugees, all that is of interest to our comrades. Tell me, what should I do?"

"I don't know", I replied.

"But I must tell some kind of a story in Prague, otherwise the comrades will no longer allow me to visit in Germany!" The man was at the end of his wits. It seemed superfluous to me to preach morals at him. Before me sat a victim of the most recent travesty of the so-called socialist humanism.

These peculiar visitors or tourists have to obtain visas from the German mission in Prague. But this presents no problems. And why should it? The reason for the journey is obvious: visiting a son or daughter with a permanent residence in the Federal Republic of Germany....

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PEACE RALLY PREPARATIONS DISCUSSED

Religious Groups Meet

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 18, 1 May 83 p 4

[Unsigned article: "Participation of Religious Groups at the Prague World Peace Rally"]

[Text] An international initiative group, which includes members from a number of countries and religious organizations, met in Geneva on 21-22 March 1983 and discussed the suitable form of participation for religious groups, such as Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jews, Moslems, and others at the World Rally for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, which will be held 21-26 June in Prague, CSSR.

The group welcomed a report on the preparations for the rally, which is to provide an opportunity for an open and sincere dialogue about threats to world peace and to consider what collective drives could be undertaken.

Since a large number of peace movements are motivated by religious traditions and guided by religious groups and individuals, their outspoken contribution to all discussions at the rally will be very important.

Meetings of religious leaders and believers, which are being prepared for 24 and 25 June, will be an inseparable part of the program at the rally, at which problems of common interest could be presented and discussed. The initiative group has proposed certain themes, for example the following: 1. Danger to life and religious responsibility; 2. Attitudes: to replace the feeling of helplessness with hope and distrust with trust; 3. Justice and welfare for the helpless and the exploited of this world: disarmament as the first step; 4. Specific religious initiatives and proposals of drives to prevent nuclear war and to bring about disarmament.

The initiative group has also heard reports of representatives of churches from the CSSR and assurances that these churches will cordially welcome their brothers and sisters from all over the world.

The program of the rally provides time for personal visits in church and religious organizations in the CSSR. The participants are also being invited

to arrive a little earlier or to stay a little longer after the rally, so that they could expand their contacts.

Religious circles dealing with the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and dedicated to the defense of life on our earth, are being invited to become an indivisible component of the rally.

Preparatory Committee Meets

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 83 pp 1, 7

[CTK article: "Preparations for the Prague World Rally," Prague]

[Text] An expanded session of the coordinating group of the international preparatory committee of the World Rally for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War opened in Prague on Thursday afternoon.

It will be attended by some 60 representatives of international organizations of national peace movements and groups, and by other personalities who have expressed interest in taking part in the preparations of the World Rally, which will be held in June in Prague.

The meeting was opened by Edith Ballantine, convener of the coordinating group. A report on the status of the preparations for the rally in the host country was presented by Tomas Travnicek, chairman of the Czechoslovak national preparatory committee.

In the course of the rich and open discussion, the participants at the session are evaluating questions related to the results of the preparations obtained so far, preparations which are taking place all over the world, and they examine further steps designed to intensify the preparations both in individual countries as well as on the international scale. They are also determining more precisely the program of the actual course of the rally in Prague.

Romes Candra, chairman of the World Peace Council, emphasized in an interview that the mass peace movement in the entire world is getting stronger, as confirmed by actions of the working people during recent First of May celebrations in various countries. Movements are being formed in the world to create "peace zones," such as for example the movement for creating such a zone in the Indian Ocean. The view is becoming increasingly stronger that in the present dangerous international situation it is necessary to join the forces in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war. That is the most important thing today, stated R. Candra. The World Rally in Prague, at which we shall seek a joint base for further struggle for peace, will be the place for a dialogue about a joint advance of peace forces, said R. Candra. He emphasized that a dangerous growth of armament can be prevented only by a joint action of all progressive people of the world, regardless of whether their views diverge on certain points. We must build on what unites us, said R. Candra in conclusion.

(Lisbon, CTK) Portuguese peace activists are getting ready for the World Rally for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, which will be held in June in Prague.

The chairman of the Portuguese Council for Peace and International Cooperation, former President Francisco Costa Gomes, announced at a press conference in Lisbon that over 250 social, trade union, and religious organizations of the country have expressed their support for the Prague rally.

A statewide meeting will be held in Lisbon on Saturday. The participants will check on the status of the preparations for the Prague rally and will nominate members of the Portuguese delegation.

(Sofia, CTK) A working session of the international preparatory committee for a meeting of cultural and artistic activists was held in Sofia [Bulgaria] on Wednesday. The meeting will be organized at the time of the Prague World Rally for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War.

The participants expressed unanimously their view that the forthcoming dialogue of cultural activists and artists of all types will serve to support efforts of averting a nuclear catastrophe and strengthening of world peace.

Press Conference Described

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 83 p 1

[Article by Kveta Benesova: "Interest in Peace Dialogue is Growing Every Day"]

[Text] The enchanting view of Prague from the Palace of Culture is a symbol of everything that man has achieved. It is precisely such a view that must be preserved, in the same way as other values created by mankind. That is what we are striving for, and that is also the goal of the World Rally for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, which will be held as early as next month in Prague. This was emphasized at a press conference in Prague of Friday by E. Ballantine, convener of the coordinating group of international preparatory committee for the Peace Rally.

The press conference was attended also by other members of the coordinating group, which is holding a session in Prague at present.

E. Ballantine stated further that interest in the Prague dialogue on peace and disarmament is growing every day, and the number of those who would like to come exceeds by far the available facilities. By a decision of the organizers, the rally will be attended by 2,500 to 3,000 delegates, observers, and guests. The lady representative of the coordinating group also thanked Czechoslovak citizens for their efforts in the organizational preparations of this important international drive. She said: "We know that they will create the best conditions for the discussions."

R. Candra, chairman of the World Peace Council, also expressed his thanks to the people of Czechoslovakia for everything they have done so far for the preparation of the rally. He described the forthcoming meeting of peace-loving forces as a rally of nations on the offensive. People on all continents feel the need to meet, unite, and act, so that they may avert the threatening danger of war. Their concern is to make sure that 1983 would not become the year of deployment of U.S. missiles, but a year when armament racing and piling of weapons stops. These people are being brought to Prague not only by the real danger of war, but also by their confidence in the strength of public opinion and in its ability to prevent war, said R. Candra. In closing his address, he emphasized the view that no previous congress or meeting can be compared with the Prague rally in terms of its broad representation of all peace and anti-war forces of the world and their determination to act jointly regardless of what divides them.

Comrade T. Travnicek, chairman of the Czechoslovak preparatory committee gave then information about a number of drives designed to support the peace rally in the CSSR. Every citizen of our country is taking part in practical preparations. The amount of financial contributions accumulated in the account of the Peace and Solidarity Fund is so large that all the costs of the World Rally will be covered by these voluntary contributions. As emphasized by comrade T. Travnicek, the flow of financial means into the Peace Fund continues without stopping. This approach to the preparations of the rally can also be described as a manifestation of deep international solidarity of our people.

Other members of the coordinating group of the international preparatory committee also made speeches during the next part of the press conference. C. Rossi, a member of the municipal council of Greater London, spoke about the fact that the British movement of defenders of peace has many enemies, but its representatives will also come to Prague to take part in the discussions and to say: "People, we advise you to stay alive!" A. Lokshin, secretary of the Soviet Committee of Defenders of Peace, also recalled among other things a demonstration held on Thursday by 12,000 Muscovites in support of the ideas of the Prague rally.

A. Byrd, a member of the national movement in the United States for a freeze of nuclear arms, speaking in connection with the planned deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in West Europe, pointed out that the government, which wants to take such a step, does not represent the will of the American people. According to his words, research conducted in the last 2 years in the United States has shown that 75-80 percent of Americans reject nuclear weapons. A closing speech was given by A. van Mell, a member of the Dutch peace movement Women for Peace, who talked about extensive activities of women's organizations in the world in favor of the cause of peace.

Prague Rally Organizer Interviewed

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 23 May 83 p 4

[Interview with Marcel Nolce, member, Peace Rally organizing committee by Andrzej Gestern]

[Text] In the last 10 days of June of this year, representatives of the peace movement from all over the world will meet in the Czechoslovak

capital, Prague. This gathering, which has been given a name of World Rally for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, promises to be the biggest and most representative gathering of people wishing to oppose the threat to which Europe and the world are exposed. I talked about preparations for this forum with Marcel Nolce, a member of the organizing committee active in Prague, who is at the same time general secretary of the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists.

[Question] What are the goals that the participants of the World Rally for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War have?

[Answer] The present international situation arouses ever more fears in people of different countries and continents. Awareness of the danger grows, as does anxiety for the future of the world, for the future of life on earth. The international community realizes more clearly that the intensification of the arms race may have unpredictable effects. It contains in itself the threat of nuclear catastrophe, the threat of extermination.

This awareness persuades people of various nationalities, of various political viewpoints, of various religious denominations not only in Europe where the threat is felt to be the strongest, but also in other continents, for instance, the U.S.A., to oppose the growing danger. The expression of this is observed in the intensification, in recent years, of peace movements taking on new and varied forms. The purpose of the Prague gathering is for representatives of these movements to meet and coordinate their activities, to exchange views and experiences on the subject of forms and methods of actions. This is a meeting open to all peace movements, to all people of good will.

[Question] Therefore activists of peace movements of different political hues will meet. Do you believe that they will find a common language?

[Answer] I am convinced that they will. In fact the contemporary peace movement is exceptionally multi-hued. Representatives of many political trends act in it, starting from communists, through social democrats, "Greens", to representatives of Christian democratic parties. Next to Catholic bishops, clergy of other Christian denominations, women's and youth organizations, students and veterans of war, political activists and scholars. They are united by a common goal--anxiety for the future of life on earth and a common wish to stave off the danger of war. I believe that in this lies the strength of the movement and not its weakness.

[Question] Who will take part in this meeting?

[Answer] Before I answer this question, I would like to return to the genesis of the Prague meeting. The decision to call it was taken in November of last year in Lisbon at a meeting of 300 representatives of peace movements from 90 countries and 20 international organizations. A special international committee was then established there. In February

of this year, at a meeting in Geneva, the program of the meeting in Prague was discussed; invitations began to be sent out. Invitations were sent to all, organizations large or small fighting for peace, starting with the World Peace Council, through hundreds of peace movements, pacifist and disarmament movements in the world (including, for instance, the U.S. movement to freeze nuclear armaments) and down to the smallest ones, such as for instance, the British women's movement which has several dozen members who protest the installation of medium-range missiles in an English base. The committee, which is active in Prague and of which I am a member, deals only with the organizational and technical side of the meeting. We have a lot of work because we expect arrival of 2,000 to 2,500 persons, representing about 200 organizations and peace movements.

[Question] What will the gathering look like?

[Answer] Above all, we wish to create for all participants conditions conducive to a dialogue, to free the exchange of ideas and views on the subject of actions, and to making possible a discussion on all forms and aspects of the struggle for peace and disarmament. That is why we do not in principle plan mass meetings with a set schedule. There will be only one short plenary session. The rest of the time the participants will spend in discussions groups and in informal groups, in commissions if they want to call them such, or in groups of people with common interests.

The gathering will last from 21 to 26 June. The participants will discuss such matters as the threat of nuclear war and methods to prevent it, matters of disarmament, the role of the UN and of other international organizations for peace, economic aspects of armament and disarmament, international economic cooperation and others.

A forum will also be created for the discussion of regional problems in the fight for peace; the question of education for peace, etc. In connection with this last question, it is worthwhile to recall that education for peace is a matter of particular interest to Poland. It was Poland which was the initiator of a UN resolution on this matter, which was accepted and supported by almost all members of this international organization.

Among the general topics, which I believe will be numerous and interesting, it is worth mentioning the meeting of women, youth, unionists, pedagogues, doctors, writers, lawyers, parliamentarians and deputies to self-government organs, clergy, scientists, and journalists. We foresee also the departure of the participants of the gathering to other cities of Czechoslovakia and meetings with the population. At the end, a common gathering of all guests will take place at the Prague Old Town marketplace.

We wish for the Prague forum to become an important event for all peace movements in the world and to contribute to the consolidation and activation of their activities in the name of this goal, which by nature is close to every man.

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'CONSERVATIVE' MARXIST SCHOLARS, 'ULTRALEFTIST IDEOLOGUES' ATTACKED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 31 No 2,
Feb 83 (signed to press 1 Dec 82) pp 160-171

[Article by Prof Dr Eberhard Fromm and Rosemarie Raffel, Institute for
Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central
Committee: "Trends in Current Bourgeois Criticism of Marxism"]

[Text] The effectiveness and magnetism of Marxism-Leninism as well as its direct and in many ways equally indirect impact on contemporary intellectual life in all parts of the world are undisputed today. "The teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin which our enemies have declared to be untimely, obsolete or even dead have become the most powerful intellectual force of our time."¹ The broad spectrum of interest in Marxism-Leninism ranges from its conscious and goal-directed acceptance on the part of millions in the socialist camp and the communist parties of all countries to a partial or gradual approximation of it on the part of progressive, revolutionary-democratic and other anti-imperialist forces all the way to comprehensive critique and total rejection on the part of imperialist ideologies. The variety of the interest in Marxism makes it necessary to differentiate as exactly as possible. It is particularly important at the present time therefore to differentiate between those forces and movements which are moving toward Marxism-Leninism; which are trying to apply it partially or gradually in their fight against imperialism and those ideologues which deal with Marxism-Leninism in order to criticize or "refute" it—either covertly or overtly.

The present article directs its attention to the bourgeois critique of Marxism—namely that critique which is consciously and openly directed /against/ Marxism-Leninism; whose avowed objective it is to analyze it, to interpret and distort it; to falsify it, to curtail its impact and to strengthen the intellectual dominion of the monopoly bourgeoisie. It is our primary purpose to draw attention to a number of new and/or characteristically contemporary directions, positions and lines of argument. We are starting from the assumption that a certain shift in the bourgeois critique of Marxism is indicative of specific reactions to a wide variety of processes but in particular to the offensive conducted by Marxism-Leninism itself.

The history of the bourgeois critique of Marxism goes back to the immediate reaction to the publication of the works of Marx and Engels during their own lifetime and the first waves of falsification of Marxism—closely tied to the revisionist attempts to do so by Eduard Bernstein—to the sharp attacks against Leninism during the twenties and thirties—where the publication and interpretation of the "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts" of Karl Marx in 1932 played a particular role—and then on to distortions by the "Marxologists" during the Cold War after 1945 and to the efforts devoted to creating a so-called "Neo-Marxism" and a kind of academic critique of Marxism. The dispute with the bourgeois critique of Marxism has for a long time been an integral part of fighting Marxist philosophy. And just as Marx, Engels and Lenin themselves took issue polemically against bourgeois interpretations, distortions and evaluations and just as Plekhanov focused his labors on "A Critique of Our Critics"², today's representatives of Marxism-Leninism are passionately and determinedly taking issue with the falsification of Marxism in our time.

This aggressive stance has an honorable tradition in GDR Marxist-Leninist philosophy as well.³ One need only recall such works as "Jesuits, God and Matter" by Georg Klaus (published in 1958); the polemical critique of church critics of Marx in "Alienation and Humanity" (1964); the sharp controversy with bourgeois falsifications of Marxism at the 1968 GDR philosophers' congress whose main topic was "The Philosophical Teachings of Karl Marx and Their Contemporary Significance," or the comprehensive study "The Misery of 'Marxology'" by Rolf Bauermann, Karlheinz Geyer and Elmar Julier. This research effort was and still is able to draw on a wide variety of Soviet studies which investigate bourgeois criticism of Marxism as to its various aspects, as to its historic patterns and its main content.

The changes and adjustments which the bourgeois critique of Marxism has undergone over the past 130 years are of particular significance for the present controversy, since they provide us with clues about how world power relationships have developed; where and how the bourgeoisie had to retreat or give way and where and how it is attempting to get back on the attack. In theory, the bourgeoisie expresses its relationship to the revolutionary labor movement and to socialism in its critique of Marxism. Since we are dealing with an opposition that is continuing and is based in principle on class antagonism, it is of some value to focus on the various aspects of the critique.

If one starts out with the historical stages of the bourgeois critique of Marxism which are dependent on the origins, the development and the impact of Marxism-Leninism,⁴ one has no difficulty discovering differences in the thrust, in the lines of argument and the methodology of the bourgeois critique of Marxism. Thus, its attitude toward the components of Marxism-Leninism underwent some change and its attitude toward his philosophical, economic and political ideas did, too. At first, it stressed the economic teachings of Marx but later accused him of economism and at length rejected

the findings of Marx's political economy as superannuated and obsolete. In earlier times, Marx was dubbed a precursor of existentialism; but now it is historical materialism on which attention is focused. This is tied to a change in the attitudes toward the stages in the formulation and development of Marxism-Leninism. Superficial interest in "young" Marx has given way to the Marx "of the middle years" and his works on economic issues. Distinct adjustments to changed conditions and situations may be observed in the modifications of methodology; in the alternation between blatant falsification and seemingly "objective" interpretation. There are times marked by militant rejection and those marked by "scientific" analysis and even by "emendation." Of course there are no rigid lines drawn between the different manifestations of the bourgeois critique of Marxism; they act one upon the other, complement each other and "learn" from each other. These differences and attempts at adjustment continuously revolve around a uniform and permanent focal point of bourgeois Marxist criticism which is characterized by the following features:

The scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism is at the very least doubted, if not rejected outright.

The unity of Marxism-Leninism is dissolved; the main thrust of all criticism is directed against Leninism.

Materialism and the dialectic in Marxism-Leninism are distorted or denied.

The newness of Marxism-Leninism as opposed to all bourgeois theory is not recognized. There follows a reductive process focusing on individual aspects of Marxism and/or an attempt to liken it to other social theories.

Marxism-Leninism as a scientific world view of the working class is attacked as a "false" ideology, as a surrogate religion, etc.

The attacks and falsifications by the bourgeois critics of Marxism are primarily directed against philosophical problems such as the objective laws of history; objective dialectics; epistemology and the concept of truth; the historical mission of the working class; the class theory; the theory of class struggle and revolution; the leadership role of the party of the working class and theory of the state. Special attention is also paid to issues such as alienation and praxis, lifted out of context and/or turned into absolutes. In this connection, the claim is frequently made that "real" or "original" Marxism has been discovered or it is said that these problems constitute his primary achievements.

If one looks at the main trends, shifts and adjustments in the bourgeois critique of Marxism from the middle of the 19th century to the present, one may characterize them as follows: Their development begins with the initial reactions of the bourgeoisie to Marxism which was marked by self-assured arrogance past positions of total confrontation coupled with partial exploitation for its own benefit all the way to a massive defensive battle conducted from the point of view of the historical defensive but also marked by a deep spiritual crisis. The offensive mounted by Marxism-Leninism is

confronted today by a global effort of its critics to stop its forward progress by means of ever expanding criticism and falsification employing all previous methods and constantly striving to design new ones—ranging from lies to attempts at revision and from seemingly factual criticism all the way to liquidation of revolutionary content. This corroborates Lenin's views on the attempts of bourgeois ideology to make adjustments. "The teachings of Marx," he wrote, "are now being treated in the same way as those of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of the oppressed classes in their struggle for liberation throughout history." During their lifetime, they are persecuted with violent hatred and once they are dead, an attempt is made to transform them into "harmless idols" by removing the revolutionary sting from their teachings and vulgarizing them. "The revolutionary side of their teachings is forgotten, repressed or distorted and so is their revolutionary spirit. And what is moved into the foreground and praised are those aspects which are or seem to be acceptable to the bourgeoisie."⁵

In the sixties, it became customary among bourgeois ideologues to speak of a "renaissance of Marxism." This was particularly true of those critics of Marxism who had previously made their fight against Marxism-Leninism their full-time occupation. Joseph M Bochenski, a Dominican, who had come out with a construct entitled "Soviet Dialectical Materialism" in the fifties and was one of the editors of the dubious "Handbook of World Communism" spoke of a "re-awakening of Marxism."⁶ In this connection, the bourgeois critics of Marxism were exercised—as they continue to be—by the question of "why Marxism keeps on affecting so many individuals"⁷ and why communism "exerts such fascination."⁸ Behind this lurks the fear of the actual impact of the scientific world view of the working class which they seek to bring under control. Hectic and exaggerated reactions on the part of bourgeois ideologues to the forward progress of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism may always be expected when the development of real socialism and of its scientific theories forces the bourgeoisie to bestir itself and whenever shifts in international power relationships mobilize the most reactionary forces of imperialism. What under these conditions was defined as a "renaissance of Marxism" since the sixties is a conglomerate of the actually increased influence of Marxism-Leninism as well as the increased activity on the part of bourgeois criticism of Marxism—of attempts at philosophical revisionism and ultraleftist interpretation of Marxism; of designs for a "neo-Marxism" by petty bourgeois interpreters of Marxism and an increase of Marxist dicta in the bourgeois social sciences.

In view of this heterogeneous interest in Marxism, it makes no sense to speak of a renaissance of Marxism either in the sixties or the seventies. The actual increase in the interest in Marxism-Leninism inside the labor movement, among some intellectuals and the leaders of national liberation movements has its roots in a variety of processes of the economic and political class struggle as well in the development of real socialism and the strength of specific revolutionary workers' parties. It is related to the class struggle situation as a whole including the ideological sphere. And

in the final analysis, the spiritual crisis of present-day imperialism plays a substantial part in it, too. Marxism-Leninism as a scientific world view of the working class does not operate along straight lines and without any contradictions of course. It must persevere and make its influence felt in the tough ideological class struggle. It is inseparably tied to the revolutionary workers' movement and its growing influence. In this way, its impact has grown steadily—particularly because of the inception, development and the progress made by real socialism.

The bourgeois interpretation of the increased impact of Marxism-Leninism as a kind of "renaissance" creates the impression of the "re-emergence" or even "revivification" of an ideology which was ineffectual for some time. One purpose is to deny the unity which exists between the revolutionary workers' movement and Marxist-Leninist theory by characterizing Marxism as an ideology which achieves topicality depending on the subjective needs of the leadership groups or the impact made by individual thinkers and schools of thought. This then leads over to the second phase which is that the dispute with Marxism-Leninism consists of "refutation" in the theoretical field and of the revelation of its "fascinating errors".⁹ The third purpose of proclaiming a "renaissance of Marxism" in all cases also consists in mobilizing the bourgeois, anti-communist forces.

There is one other striking aspect to it. All those who make haste to announce a "renaissance" of Marxism are equally quick to discover a "crisis of Marxism." And it is this very aspect on which some bourgeois Marxist experts are concentrating in the early eighties. They speak of "dissolution;" of "pluralization" and of a "breakup of Marxism-Leninism." In connection with anti-communist thesis of the alleged "crisis of socialism," they are also casting doubt on either all of Marxist-Leninist theory or at least the most important aspects of it. While there are some who say that /all/ assumptions of Marxism-Leninism have been proven wrong, there are others who say that "only" some aspects of Marxism must be liquidated such as the historic mission of the working class; the theory of revolution and the theory of the state. Some conclude that Marxism-Leninism has reached "the end of the line" and others are calling for a "new kind" of Marxism instead.

None of this is new. Bourgeois and revisionist ideologues always tend to speak of a "crisis of Marxism" whenever new conditions and demands of the class struggle emerge and whenever the enemies of the working class do what they can to weaken the revolutionary force of Marxist-Leninism. In connection with the altered power relationship in the world and the increased efforts by the reactionary circles of international monopoly capital to regain lost ground and to develop an adventurist concept of armaments and confrontation for this purpose /an increase both in extent and intensity of bourgeois criticism of Marxism/ has been noted since the mid-seventies. Bourgeois economist Hans-Rudolf Peters puts it into words of one syllable by demanding: "It is high time for a 'renaissance of Marxist critique.'"¹⁰ The magazine DER ARBEITGEBER has for some time been calling

for a "more intensified scientific confrontation with Marxism." The magazine believes there is a need "to focus on devoting much attention to a critique of Marxism."¹¹

The broad-brush, intensive bourgeois critique of Marxism is aimed at a wide range of goals and schools of thought and is addressed to a wide variety of people. First, we should mention the "information" pamphlets which occupy as much space as ever. These are the more or less poorly written descriptions or rather distortions of Marxism-Leninism.¹² Their purpose is to slander by presenting false interpretations. They are addressed to a large public and tied to its known anti-communist bias. There are just as many publications which deal with Karl Marx personally, with his life and his work. In the past, this has been the particular province of American "communism researchers." At the moment, there is a Marx biography by Richard Friedenthal which is being much praised in the FRG. The book is an albeit skillful conglomerate of half-truths, erroneous interpretations and outright lies.¹³ In many cases, the aim of these biographical works is the moral defamation of Marx as an individual and along with it that of the theory he originated.

An important place is occupied by historical studies of Marxism-Leninism, its origins and its development. Thus, the new 3-volume study entitled "Main Currents of Marxism" by Leszek Kolakowski is being hailed as representing a new trend in Marxist scholarship in the FRG.¹⁴ But the bulk of bourgeois literature on Marxist criticism is devoted, as before, to a wide variety of single issues and detailed questions. In this regard, philosophy leads by far, preferably dealing with problems such as dialectics and historical materialism or with separate issues such as property, alienation, democracy etc. It should be stressed in this connection that there has been a shift in recent years away from the early writings of Marx to the work of the "mature Marx" and his economic writings in particular. This shift has been accompanied by a growing interest in the basic problems of historical materialism.¹⁵

The broad spectrum of bourgeois Marxist criticism as well as its variety and intensity somehow does not gibe with the contention that there is a "crisis of Marxism." The fact that the bourgeoisie feels constrained to spend so much of its time dealing with the world view of the working class would rather seem to be an indication of the strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism. The crisis which is the subject of the bourgeois ideologues' lament is not the crisis of Marxism; it is the spiritual crisis of imperialism. And it is the fact that this state of crisis puts them on the defensive that forces the bourgeois ideologues to attack Marxism.

In the mobilization of all the forces of bourgeois ideology to combat Marxism-Leninism, institutionalized bourgeois criticism of Marxism has a major role to play. It serves as the organizational scaffolding and provides the substantive guidelines for /all/ bourgeois Marxist scholarship. In the fields of so-called "communism research," in East research, in "Sovietology" mainly in the United States but also in Great Britain and in the FRG "specialists" have been at work for decades whose studies have determined the theoretical as well as political attitudes of many people toward Marxism-Leninism. It is at the very least critical position, if not a militant, anti-communist one. However much they may differ among themselves in some particulars, men like Robert C Tucker and Maximilien Rubel, like Erich Thier and Iring Fetscher; Gustav A Wetter and Jean-Yves Calvez; Zbigniew K Brzezinski and Leopold B Shapiro are among those engaged in this type of Marxist critique which has adopted a kind of interdisciplinary "communism research" approach and turned the theories of Marx, Engels and if not always overtly of Lenin into the subject matter of their endeavors which are commonly referred to as "Marxology." Their publications have formed the everyday image of Marxism-Leninism in the capitalist world and in addition are consciously aimed at making an impact on the bourgeois social sciences and bourgeois philosophy. The representatives of this group played a major role in the selection, edition and interpretation of the writings of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism. Their primary concern is to publish works that might serve as long-term guidelines such as reference books, dictionaries, encyclopedias, etc. One of these works is called "A Systems Comparison of Marxism." This large-scale work is of interest because of its history, its content and form, its authors and its impact. It is a special edition of the international encyclopedia, entitled "The Soviet System and Democratic Society," which was begun in the mid-sixties. The encyclopedia originated during an era in which cold war ideas still made an imprint on intellectual life. The authors were intent on using the work to influence the process of the formation of theories and ideologies; to push back Marxism-Leninism and to provide a theoretical basis for anti-communism. The 1973 publication of "A Systems Comparison of Marxism" in handy paperback form showed that there was /no/ intention of deviating from the original path of combating Marxism-Leninism. There was an appearance of objectivity but the direction, the names of the authors and the selection of index citations show that there has been no /fundamental/ shift in the bourgeois critique of Marxism despite the changed conditions.

Claus D Kernig, the publisher and editor-in-chief, starts with the assumption that there is a continually growing interest in Marxism and that there is a need to provide an "orientation aid" for all those "wishing to look into ideological issues." To this end, he is offering an "introduction, review and in-depth study of the ideological and theoretical-historical problems of Marxism."¹⁷ Kernig views Marxism as "the immanent intellectual alternative" to existing capitalist society which, in his view, "has not yet taken shape in the real world of organized socialism."¹⁸ The originality of Marxism is to be comprehended as part of a "critical evaluation"—

which is to say that Marxism must be freed of its deviation, as Kernig puts it, because this is the only way in which Marxism "can lay claim to being an alternative concept."¹⁹ The abovementioned reference work is thus supposed to do justice to these "demands" and it promises in addition to provide a tour d'horizon of all outstanding issues dividing East and West. Toward this end, a large number of authors from different countries have been called upon to contribute. Most of them have already made a name for themselves as Marxist critics and have had a great deal of exposure in this field.²⁰ In addition to Kernig, the editorial board includes the following as representatives of the various disciplines: Klaus v Beyme (politics and sociology); Nikolaus Lobkowitz (philosophy); H Mommsen and W Schieder (history); Klaus Westen (law) and others. Last but not least, established Marxist critics and anti-communists like Brzezinski, Calvez, Schapiro and Wetter make up the advisory board for the encyclopedia as a whole.

"A Systems Comparison of Marxism" is to include seven series (philosophy and ideology; basic tenets of Marxism; economics; politics; sociology; history and law) of three to four volumes each in which a great many concepts are to be dealt with. The many different authors will contribute a variety of interpretations, positions and points of view and plans are to have contrary opinions appear side-by-side so as to create the impression of diversity. There is every intention of presenting Marxism "pluralistically." Next to spokesmen on behalf of Marxism-Leninism who are simply referred to as reflecting the "Soviet concept" there are revisionists of the past and present, petty bourgeois theoreticians who have injected some aspects of Marxism into their own ideas and renegades. It is characteristic that all issues are shot through with rather easily recognizable false interpretations and willful falsifications of basic Marxist ideas—all under the pretext of subjecting them to a critique. The attacks of bourgeois Marxist critique are primarily directed against the revolutionary character of Marxist-Leninist theory; against its partisan character and against the connection between ideology and political life. It is easy to see that Marxist critique devotes particular attention of necessity to those categories which are a clear expression of the scientific and partisan character of Marxism-Leninism where the transformation of working class ideology into practical politics actually takes place. In particular these are the concepts of dialectical and historical materialism; class and class struggle; dictatorship of the proletariat; communism; Marxism; Leninism; dialectics; historical necessity etc. But other major Marxist categories do not play an important role at all. These include such matters as exploitation; basis and superstructure; societal formation; production conditions; productive forces or production methods. It is clear to see that they do not have as much of a place in this type of "Marxist critique." But catchwords such as alienation; freedom; democracy and humanism are discussed at great length. They provide a great many pegs for bourgeois interpretations and points of view—pegs which are used to prove that there is a seeming continuity and constancy of bourgeois thinking there.

The very structure of this reference work is an indication of the methodical approach employed by the bourgeois critics of Marxism. They pick and choose from Marxism-Leninism whatever seems useful for their purposes; whatever fits into their image of Marxism or can be adapted to it. They reinterpret major basic concepts along bourgeois lines and thus remove Marxism's sting and clear logic. It is by no means their aim to familiarize the reader with Marxism-Leninism but to lead him away from Marxism-Leninism and to turn him into an opponent of Marxism-Leninism on the strength of their "critique."

A central place is occupied by the references to historical materialism. The very way in which this concept is interpreted in this "reference work" makes it clear that the fundamental ideas of historical materialism which constitute its scientific character and its revolutionary essence have disappeared. Andreas v Weiss, the author of the reference index, terms historical materialism the /philosophy of history/ of Marxism-Leninism whose purpose it is to discover the laws governing the development of human society.²¹ The conspicuous characterization of historical materialism as a philosophy of history places it on a par with other, bourgeois theories on the philosophy of history and it is not hard to see why. But the fact is that historical materialism represents the end of this kind of philosophy of history. It represents an entirely new approach to history and social theory, since the synthesis of materialism and dialectics—an entirely new concept of dialectics and of materialism—as worked out by Marx and Engels is purposefully applied to the meaning of human society and its history. The profound significance of historical materialism lies in its substantiation of the materialist point of view in any scientific analysis of social affairs which means that any investigation of society and history will take the ways and means of production of material life into account as being the ultimate foundation of all social relationships and processes. The theoretical starting point thus is the materialist answer to the fundamental question of philosophy concerning social life. It is the finding that there are material and ideological conditions which apply to the social relationships which human beings create at every stage of their development; that the ideological social relationships must be traced back to the relationships which existed originally—back to the production relationships which human beings establish among themselves in the material process of production and reproduction and which in turn can be explained on the basis of a particular stage of development of the material productive forces. On this basis historical materialism investigates society as a whole; its inner connections, relationships and processes as well as the reciprocal effect exercised by all of its manifestations. It looks upon its development as a natural history process determined by objective laws. This removes the barriers put up by bourgeois philosophies of history; those shortcomings of a point of view which admits only of ideational motives for human historical actions without taking the objective laws governing the development of social relationships into account; without recognizing that the roots of material production are to be found in the practical, substantive endeavors of men.

As for the straight answer given by historical materialism to the fundamental question of philosophy with regard to human society, Andreas v Weiss simply evades it. In his view, Marx substantiated his materialist approach to history by turning toward "human existence in this life calling 'it in-human' and a state of 'alienation' and 'self-alienation' of man."²² V Weiss believes this can be traced back to "The German Ideology," adding: "In that study mention is made of 'this view of history' founded on the assumption of the existence of a material basis. The expression 'materialist basis' is described more closely as the history 'of bourgeois society, of commerce and industry...'"²³ V Weiss also cites Feuerbach, stating that his view of materialism had "a clear connection to the axiomatics of historical materialism...as an axiom of the worldly nature of all phenomena."²⁴

This view of history which is only "oriented to this life" does not accept the primacy of the material over the ideational; it does not establish a connection to the dialectical materialist basis of the ideology of the working class but is then referred to as a "critical-normative theory of action" and as a "spiritual driving force of the avant-garde of mankind pressing forward."²⁵ The concluding "critical summary" of the concept of historical materialism clearly shows that the main thrust of Marxist critique of the materialist view of history is directed at this fundamental precept of Marxism-Leninism. Initially, the concept of "historical materialism" is attacked polemically for not being appropriate. This in turn leads to a presentation of the bourgeois interpretation. "The materialist view of history should be defined as the /methodology of the (materialist) analysis (view) oriented to this life of social phenomena (history)/ and this applies both to its scientific merit and its designation as a normative maxim. 'Historical materialism' would under those circumstances simply be the name given to the end result of the analysis; to the theory in the shape of a system of assertions."²⁶ This opens historical materialism up to all sorts of interpretations and uses. A "materialist view of history" seen in this light may well be accepted by any bourgeois philosopher of history as /one/ possible way of interpreting history. He can even go so far as to praise it as the great theoretical achievement of Marx. But in order that this "objective" and "positive" interpretation does not lead to an identification with this theory which poses a danger even in this distorted form, a great deal of room is provided to what are called "critical debates within Marxism." Using the example of alienation and that of determinism, an attempt is made to present the image of a kind of Marxism that is divided within itself and is breaking up into different groups and schools. That is not surprising because the Marxist critics have always been bothered not only by the scientific nature of Marxist-Leninist theory but also by its unity and consistency. And so, in the end, it is the same in this case as in the others cited in "A Systems Comparison of Marxism"—the concept is rejected "out of hand." "Historical materialism as a theory and a methodology have been unable to resolve to riddle of history, nor will they be able to do so in the future."²⁷

In this sense then, "A Systems Comparison of Marxism" takes its place among the countless attempts of bourgeois criticism and falsification of Marxism which are aimed at calling a halt to the advance of this world view. But it is more than just one example of this type of critique. Because of its wide scope, its international assemblage of authors and because of its claim to being a reference work; because of its methodical presentation and mass market layout, "A Systems Comparison of Marxism" must be termed a standard work of bourgeois Marxist criticism. It collects, coordinates and processes all the interpretations, distortions and falsifications of Marxism up to and including the sixties; it provides orientation for every kind of Marxist research; it is designed to achieve a long-term impact but also contains some new elements and/or is able to adjust to new trends; it fulfills the function of stressing all those elements of Marxist critique on a continuing basis which provide a theoretical basis for a negative and, in the final analysis, anti-communist stand vis-a-vis socialism and the communist movement.

The actual impact both in breadth and in depth of institutionalized Marxist critique and works such as "A Systems Comparison of Marxism" can be shown time and again throughout the development of bourgeois ideology and philosophy. These same interpretations, distortions, falsifications and legends may be found in the works of reputable bourgeois philosophers who comment on Marxism;²⁸ in daily newspapers;²⁹ in works on Marxism which try to present a semblance of objectivity³⁰ as well as in articles which publicize the reference works. For this reason, the detection, the critical analysis and the effective refutation of such products of bourgeois Marxist critique are among the most important tasks to be fulfilled by an aggressive counter-offensive on the part of Marxism-Leninism.

In /present-day/ bourgeois Marxist critique, we rediscover /all/ the trends which have evolved over the past several years—the distorted portrayals of Marx, Engels and Lenin as individuals; the falsified interpretations of the sources of Marxism and Leninism and its role in history; the emphasis on all revisionist interpretations; the critical evaluation of separate elements of political economics, scientific communism and philosophy; the thrust aimed at Leninism; the specific distortions regarding materialism and dialectics with particular emphasis on historical materialism. This type of criticism directed against Marxism-Leninism is a reflection of course of political-ideological trends specifically prevalent today as well as of the philosophical-ideological schools of thought and tendencies which are responsible for them. Over the past several years, bourgeois conservatism—which is in the ascendancy—has been exerting an influence on Marxist critique in a very specific way. Conservative theoreticians such as Guenter Rohrmoser, Ernst Topitsch and Gerd-Klaus Kaltenbrunner are not only having an impact on Marxist critique itself—their characteristic tendencies consist in reactivating particularly crude slander and falsification taken from the history of Marxist critique and in mounting a frontal attack on Marxism-Leninism. Under the banner of reactionary, ideological activism, they stand for a total rejection of Marxism-Leninism; for a

militant confrontation between the alleged principles of the "Western world," of the "Occident" and the principles of "communism" in the form of Marxism-Leninism. Typical features of this campaign are the attacks on Marx as a "power-hungry" thinker; as a "Messianic prophet" and an intolerant "dogmatist," etc. This goes all the way to collecting all kinds of malicious slander against Marx as an individual. Marxism-Leninism is portrayed as the epitome of the negative; as amoral and Machiavellian. There are hardly any nuances left in this type of conservative Marxist critique. It transfers confrontation politics to ideology and in turn to Marxist critique in order to discover a "substantive basis" for effective anti-communism.

The overt attacks by the conservative camp are complemented primarily by revisionist and ultraradical ideologues who claim that there is a "crisis of Marxism" which "not only casts doubt on individual theories and marginal aspects of Marxism" but "on the cornerstone of what used to be viewed as scientific socialism or historical materialism."³¹ Not infrequently, reformist circles conclude from this that the future of Marxism lies in a reflection on its "revisionist heritage."

All the talk of a "crisis of Marxism" is of course eagerly taken up by bourgeois Marxist critique. Conservative falsifiers of Marx accept it as "proof" for the accuracy of their total rejection of Marxism-Leninism. For the very reason that discussions about this topic often take place within the labor movement, the intelligentsia and among young students, the thorough refutation of all talk of a "crisis of Marxism" is among the most important tasks involved in ideological confrontation.

Although these undisguised attacks, influenced by conservative ideology, are a determining factor of contemporary Marxist critique, we should not underestimate the fact that there are some institutionalized Marxist critics who are beginning to adjust in the direction of further developing and applying a more flexible position. This is reminiscent of the activities of those Marxist critics who in the sixties while the Cold War was at its height came up with the guidelines (in the form of "Marxist studies") which did not become fully effective until the late sixties and the seventies. The present period of intense political and ideological confrontation, too, is beginning to evince trends in Marxist criticism which may not bear fruit until later. There is, for example, the focus on historical materialism and Marx's reasoning for it as contained in his economic writings. As early as 1978, Wolfgang Jahn and Roland Nietzold called attention to this development which is complemented by renewed interest in the Marx "of the middle years."³² In Marxist-Leninist historical research, the point is made that in more recent times in connection with greater interest in socio-historical issues the acceptance "of specific elements of Marxist historical theory and methodology has been raised to a new level."³³ The visible and growing interest in historical materialism is of course tied to internal processes within imperialism as well; to its profound crisis; to its search for ways out of this crisis—including the search for useful theoretical models.

At the same time, as historical materialism is raised to the level of "key-stone" of Marxism-Leninism, they can turn the old formula into reality of transforming Marxist theory into a variant of current historical philosophy. Then, it even becomes possible to philosophize "objectively" and "impartially" about class and class struggle or revolution and reform. Then, one can even accept Marxism—as one theory suited to the "critical" analysis of society. It all comes down to the old attempt to liquidate the revolutionary message of Marxism-Leninism.

In this way there are some trends emerging which do not gibe with current superficial Marxist critique as influenced by conservatism but which might well increase in importance as the politics of peaceful coexistence make gains and the politics of confrontation are reversed. Thus it is not only necessary to subject the /present/ main lines of bourgeois Marxist critique to purposeful and effective criticism and to refute its "theories" but also to pave the way for the advance of Marxism-Leninism into the future by recognizing those trends of bourgeois Marxist critique and pushing them back in time—which in fact /are not to become operative until tomorrow./

FOOTNOTES

1. "Report of the SED Central Committee to the 10th Party Congress of the SED. Rapporteur: Erich Honecker," Berlin 1981, p 133
2. Cf G Plekhanov, "A Critique of Our Critics," Berlin 1982
3. Cf Authors' collective headed by V Wrona and F Richter, "Toward a History of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy in the GDR," Berlin 1979, p 626ff. On Marxist research in bourgeois sociology, cf H Steiner, "Views on Marxist Sociology in Bourgeois Sociological Theoretical History" in DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, 6/82, p 768ff
4. Cf e.g. G I Belkina, "Marxism and Bourgeois Marxology" in "Soviet Science," GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE (Annals of Social History) 10/77, p 1079ff
5. V I Lenin, "State and Revolution" in Collected Works, Vol 25, Berlin 1960, p 397
6. J M Bochenski, "The Reawakening of Marxism" in NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 8 Dec 1973. Also: J M Bochenski, "Marxism-Leninism," Munich-Vienna 1974 (3d edition). This series of radio talks from the sixties was re-broadcast in 1973 and then was published in book form and as a workbook by the Bavarian Center for Political Education.
7. G Mann, "Opium of the Intellectuals," in DIE WELT, 2 Dec 78

8. K Loew, "What Makes Communism So Fascinating ?" Cologne 1980
9. K Hornung, "The Fascinating Error—Karl Marx and the Consequences," Freiberg/Basel/Vienna 1978
10. H-R Peters, "Political Economics of Marxism—Promise and Reality," Goettingen 1980
11. H Engler, "'Democratization'—A Slogan" in DER ARBEITGEBER (The Employer) 9 Feb 79, p 125f
12. Here are some examples: J Breitenburger and G Schnitzler (eds), "Marx and Marxism Today," Hamburg 1974; R Lay, "Marxism for Managers," Munich 1975; "Late Marxism" with contributions by H Schoeck, E Boettcher, E Streisser, C Watrin and G Rohrmoser, Stuttgart 1977; W Blum, "Marxism: Its Teachings and Political Impact, Munich 1979
13. Cf R Friedenthal, "Karl Marx: His Teachings and His Time," Munich/Zurich 1981
14. Cf L Kolakowski, "Main Currents of Marxism," 3 vols, Munich/Zurich 1977-79
15. Cf M W Fischer, "Trends in Marxist Research," in ZEITSCHRIFT FUER POLITIK, 2/81, p 202
16. G H Mueller, for example, in an article in PHILOSOPHISCHER LITERATURANZEIGER (Philosophical Literature News) pointed out that there a large number of studies on the Marxist view of history were published in English-speaking countries in the late seventies. (Cf G H Mueller, "Marx and History" in PHILOSOPHISCHER LITERATURANZEIGER, 2/81, p 196)
17. C D Kernig (ed), "A Systems Comparison of Marxism," a special supplement to the encyclopedia "Soviet System and Democratic Society," Frankfurt/Main/New York 1973 (Ideology and Philosophy Series, Vol I, Introduction)
18. Ibid. (Basic Tenets of Marxism Series, Vol I, Introduction)
19. Ibid
20. Some examples are Helmut Fleischer, Maurice Dobb, Herbert Marcuse, Wolfgang Leonhard, Maximilien Rubel and Andreas v. Weiss
21. Cf "A Systems Comparison of Marxism" (Ideology and Philosophy Series, Vol II, p 1
22. Ibid, p 7

23. Ibid, p 3
24. Ibid, p 5
25. Ibid, p 9
26. Ibid, p 24
27. Ibid, p 26
28. Cf for example the assessment of Karl Marx by Karl Jaspers in "The Great Philosophers" (edited by H Sauer), Munich/Zurich 1981, p 654ff
29. Cf H Abosch, "Marx and Lenin—Continuity or Cutoff Point ?" in NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 8-9 Aug 82, p 20
30. A Vogt, "The Contamination of Various Types of Theory in 'Das Kapital' by Karl Marx," Frankfurt/Main/Bern 1980. Also: H Koenig, "Intellect and Revolution—Some Thoughts on Kant, Hegel and Marx," Stuttgart 1981
31. H Heimann, "The Crisis of Marxism and the Relationship between Socialist Intellectuals and the Organized Labor Movement," in "Political Ideas in Crisis—Yearbook for Theory and Practice of Democratic Socialism," Cologne 1981, p 110
32. Cf W Jahm, R Nietzold, "Problems in the Development of Marx' Political Economics in the Years 1850 to 1863" in Marx-Engels Yearbook No 1, 1978, p 147f
33. Authors' collective headed by G Lozek and A Loesdau, "An Age in Conflict," Berlin 1982, p 230

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HUNGARIAN QUESTION DISCUSSED BY DISSIDENT

Paris MAGYAR FUZETEK in Hungarian No 11, 1983 pp 43-72

[Article by Miklos Gaspar Tamas: "The Hungarian Question"]

[Text] The author, a philosophical writer, was born in 1948 in Kolozsvár and lives currently in Budapest. From 1972 he was a member of the editorial staff of UTUNK, a magazine published in Kolozsvár. His first book: "The Chances of Theory" was published in Romania but references to it are appearing now only abroad since police action was instituted against its author who refused to write a laudatory article about Ceausescu. He was then forbidden for two years to publish and was demoted from editor to proof-reader. His Descartes comments appeared in 1977 but recent writings by him were published mainly by magazines in Hungary and the Voivodship (Yugoslavia--formerly Hungary). In 1978 he moved to Hungary and from 1979 he taught history of philosophy at the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Budapest. In 1980 the Romanian authorities banished him for ever from his homeland. He did not conceal his independent views in Hungary either and it was probably a result of this that in the fall of 1981 he was suspended from his position at the University of Budapest. About the origins of this essay the following will provide more detailed information.

I offered this writing to three Hungarian magazines for publication. "Nomina sunt odiosa." Of course none of them published it. This time I do not blame them. Although the publications of the nationalized press which have enough printer's ink and official blessings are no longer considered government pronouncements, as they were in the 1950s, they are still victims to some extent at least of a singular hypothesis, namely that of the readers' belief that everything that is published was printed with the complicity of the government. Readers believe this even if it is not true at all, for example in case of writings for which the authorities break the neck of their authors and publishers. The nationalized press is bound

to somehow share this prejudice since it would be too complicated to explain to what extent its organs do not accept its implications. On the other hand the government does not mind either if criticism against its policies is taken as a proof of its liberalism.

The situation is uncertain but one thing is sure namely that the publication of this essay [in Hungary] would elicit the immediate protests of the Romanian and Czechoslovak embassies. Why does the Hungarian government fear this so much? But this is not may business.

The peculiarity of the situation is that I am not sure that the competent authorities disagree with my analysis and proposals. Only they cannot agree publicly. An intellectual can be the "prompter" of the government but on really important problems of politics he cannot, as a private person, publish his opinion, particularly if it is about foreign policy. I really do not know whether or not the moves proposed by me have already been made by the Hungarian government. If it did so nothing transpired about it. More than 60 years after Lenin proclaimed the end of secret diplomacy we know hardly anything about the mutual relations of the countries of "existing socialism" except even war does not seem to be very distant. If we analyze the question soberly we cannot dismiss the presumption that the government knows much more and perhaps even does more than what its spokesmen say publicly. Yet according to the appearances the present Hungarian government has simply no policy concerning the national minority problem and this is--let us admit--still better than the idiotic, irresponsible and inconsistent policy of the Horthy regime was which insisted on a revision of the borders.

Silence and half-sincere hints at half-truths help nobody except the aggressive right wing here and there. That is why I consider it silly that my writing was not published.

I tried to comply in my essay with certain rules of good manners insofar as I was able to do it without diminishing the truth--in the first place by stopping short from saying certain things.

According to a 1931 document of the Hungarian Communist Party "the nationality question in Hungary has three areas: 1. the national independence and selfdetermination of the Hungarian nation; 2. the problem of the three million Hungarians who were torn away from Hungary; and 3. the question of nationalities in Hungary." (Quoted by Laszlo Kovago: "A kommunistak es Trianon" HISTORIA, 1981 No 2 p 8.) I agree with this classification. In my present work I do not deal with the first and make only hints at the third. However an important part of what I had to say has to do precisely with the third point.

Hungary's nationality policy is not conspicuously better in all its aspects than that of its neighbors. In Hungary the schools of the national minority are bilingual. Moreover in certain schools which are considered to belong to a national minority the minority language is the only subject taught in that language. This is one aspect that every Hungarian in Transylvania desperately and angrily criticizes. Further, there are approximately as many

Germans in Hungary as in Romania. Yet while Germans in Romania have two daily and two weekly papers, two monthly reviews, two theaters, a German-language Evangelical theology, etc., Germans in Hungary have no other cultural vehicle in their own language than the low-level yellow paper NEUE ZEITUNG. But the difference does not lie in the nationality policies of the two countries.

The difference is--and for political reasons this cannot be said publicly--that the national minorities in Hungary are living in a relatively tolerable environment, are enjoying a relatively tolerant human climate and thus they are able to express themselves more freely and to live their own lives. Hungarians in Transylvania, on the other hand, feel that in an environment of general misery, confusion and terror they are stigmatized as the scapegoats of a lunatic tyranny. While at the Secretary General-President-Commander in Chief--in short the "Chief's" so-called working visits, at those all-day mass parades, hundreds of thousands cheer at the command of his claque, the factories are standing still and hunger, fear, cult of personality, lies, eyewash, syring and insinuation are celebrating their ludicrous feast. Nothing can justify the authority of the Carpathian-Danubian successors of Petain's and Salazar's Latin Fascism except the spectre of the Hungarian danger that does not exist yet but may be raised by the chauvinist madness of the rulers in order to bear out their policy. When talking about Romania we should forget the precious treasure of European rationality. Who would believe that the methodical and permanent harassment of the entire population might become government policy? The regime destroys in an almost vicious vein the country's economic basis as if it would mock about the infinite tolerance of its humiliated subjects. Nothing assures its survival but the ideological bribing of the extremist clerical-fascist intelligentsia, a general network of spies, overall militarization and the people's apathy caused by the economic bankruptcy. And after all the President, the Great Man is in the view of many a freedom-fighter because one of his orderlies votes time and again against the Soviet Union in the United Nations--by the way together with the envoys of one of such other freedom-fighters like Pinochet or Kim Ir Sen. As if world politics would be so simple. As if we should view the Kosowo problem in the light of Enver Hoxha's odious dictatorship or from the angle of Yugoslavia's role in the European balance of forces. This kind of Realpolitik of the armchair-strategists would approve execution by shooting if only this appeared to be detrimental to those whose damnation it wishes. It differs indeed from true Realpolitik only insofar as its authors draw no advantage from it.

We should be aware of the fact that if the "Chief" the "Great Romanian Leader" would not harass the Hungarians but for example the Hittites, then many in our country would welcome him, just as such people see no difference between Dubcek's and Husak's regimes because of their chauvinist mentality. The nationalist Right opposes the tyranny of the others because it wants its own dictatorship. And if this would not yet be clear enough, I now spell it out: I do not share the opinion of the nationalists. Despite this the Romanian political police knew exactly what they were about to do when they expelled me from Romania as an undesirable person.

Of course the Transylvanian Hungarians are more important for me since I belong to them--and only therefore. I can demand rights, justice, liberation and peace for them because I consider this morally justified. And I do this mainly in their favor since this duty is my inheritance. But since I am living here now, I will demand equal rights for the Hungarian gypsies and for anyone else who needs the

I spent 30 years in Transylvania. Summarizing what I think, I can only say about nationalism what poor Julianus once said: I endured it, understood it and condemn it.

Budapest, June 1980 - June 1981.

Count Laszlo Teleki wrote to Kossuth on 14 May, 1849: "Not only Austria died but also the Hungary of S. Stephen. We grew with the events. The question is no longer whether Austria and Hungary should separate or stay united, but which of the two parties at odds will absorb the other. We inherited France's 1789 role, namely to emancipate Europe, and in my view we either accept that role or will undergo. This struggle cannot have a petty end Liberte, egalite, fraternite are not enough. The peoples want to live the life of a nationality. We should establish a system in which the lack of a homogeneous nationality is counterbalanced by the harmonization and appreciation of the ethnic rights. Hungary has two options: it might try to protect its old borders on the basis of the corpus juris and ignoring the jealousy of the races. In this way we can reap a lot of laurels but only through war, we can stabilize our life but only a limited life and we will have to make great sacrifices in blood and money for a few years of an uncertain future. And if we perish in the process only history will remember us, but Europe will not mourn us. Our other option would be to sacrifice something from the corpus juris. And what would be the price of this alternative? Only a little selfrestraint the result of which might be life and glory. No, the choice between these two ways of proceeding is not difficult. The more concessions we make to the nationalities, the less we would have to yield to Austria and absolutism. The "decheance" (the dethronement of the king) has been pronounced, the next step would be to issue a manifesto assuring the nationalities about their right. If we do this they will be with us up to their last drop of blood, if we do not, they won't. (See Gyorgy Spira, A nemzetisegi kerdes a negyvennyolcas forradalom Magyarorszagan [The Nationality Question in Hungary at the Time of the 1848 Revolution] Kossuth publishers, Budapest 1980, p. 216)

It is well known: the Hungarian leaders did not follow Laszlo Teleki's advice. Their policy has lead through the educational measures of Count Apponyi, the chauvinist bullying of Baron Dezso Banffy, the scandal around the Hungarian-language inscriptions on the railways in Croatia, the obstruction in Parliament and the alleged racial murders at Tiszaeszlar directly to the Treaty of Trianon, to the refugees living in railway carriages in the early 1920s and to the expulsions from Upper Hungary [Slovakia] in the late 1940s. Our national consciousness is still notoriously biased. Karolyi and Jaszi, who had represented the rightful national interests of Hungary,

are still considered as traitors to the nation in 1981, as if they had been Masaryk's and Benes' friends only to justify in advance the harassment of the Hungarians in Slovakia at the end of the 1940s. The country was not under the leadership of Karolyi and his associates at the time of the Peace Treaty of Trianon nor when the expulsions from Czechoslovakia occurred. They are perhaps the modern scapegoats because they intended to follow Laszlo Teleki's advice. And I must say, it is immaterial whether we present Jaszi as the cosmopolitan scapegoat to the masses who do not know him (we know from a brilliant essay by Melius the extent of the meaning of the term "cosmopolitan") or as a nationalist scapegoat that became fashionable recently. However it is clear that a federal and decentralized Hungary would have disintegrated otherwise than that Hungary which stagnated amidst of the turbulent coexistence of the county administrations' petty tyranny and the centralizing efforts of the state bureaucracy. It was finally the none too liberal Habsburg dynasty who planned to grant general suffrage in Hungary (Just as after all it was the Monarchy who put the liberation of the serfs in practice), since it had nothing to fear from the nationalities.

Since the well-known case of the Darabont government [General Fejervary's government between 1905 and 1906] it became possible to describe the democratic and international forces as foreign agents in the service of Vienna, the Little Entente, the international Jewish capital, the International, etc. The 18th century plots of the novels Rab Raby [by Mor Jokial] and A feketé varos [Kalman Mikszath] which were published in the beginning of this century show that their authors were still free to discuss the dilemmas of political thought of that era. It is a fact that the social democrats and the radicals entered into an alliance with the political friends of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and that they would have agreed to the creation of a tripartite Monarchy. They would also have been willing--of course only within certain limits--to make the majority principle work also with respect to the nationalities. For all this they are still criticized and suspected of foul play, although they intended to grant only as much or even less right to the non-Hungarians in Hungary as we want to obtain for the Hungarian minorities abroad. (For example the Hungarian Social Democratic Party--in contrast with its Austrian counterpart--opposed obstinately the foundation of socialist workers' associations for the nationalities).

We apply double standard, this is always the peculiarity of ego-centrism. Do you think that the idea of Hungarian cultural superiority belongs to the past? A scholarly pamphlet, published recently, justified the delay in the establishment of Gypsy-language schools for Gypsy children with the alleged poverty and inferiority of the Gypsy language--into the bargain with baseless arguments--forgetting that all east European nations became capable of enjoying the benefits (perhaps of dubious value) of modern civilization only after a linguistic reform and through the broadening of their vocabulary.

Despite the millions of foreign tourists visiting nowadays Budapest, people are giggling in bus No. 12 when they hear an unusual foreign language, and fervent patriots would call for police intervention at the sight of a Polish housewife exchanging cotton sweat-shirts for canned tomato dishes. Village councils deprive small villages with growing Gypsy population of their

social benefits without any order from the higher authorities and without consulting their fellow councils. Yet except for the efforts of a few isolated intellectuals most people pay no attention to the Hungarian minorities beyond the borders. Of course emotional outbursts occur, but I doubt that the problem of the schools of Hungarian minorities has ever stirred up as much indignation as the doubtlessly ridiculous and irritating Romanian gasoline regulation (which in the meantime was cancelled). Naturally in the latter case our money was at stake rather than the destiny of our Transylvanian brothers.

Transylvanians in Hungary may easily come across with a whole scale of symptoms pointing at the revival of ethnic consciousness. At one end of the scale people would say: "Vow, how well you speak Hungarian"--and at the other end: "It is only in Transylvania that a beautiful Hungarian is being spoken."

The first sentence is an ignorant blunder. Transylvanian Hungarians are also Hungarians who learned their language from their mother rather than from the booklet "How to Say it in Hungarian?" The second is exasperating. For only those who are aware of the corruption of the Hungarian language in Transylvania who know Romanian. (Moreover Transylvanian Hungarians with a perfect gift of the language are often using without any scruple non-Hungarian expressions and idiomatisms since being ignorant of the Romanian language they do not recognize the foreign element). The mirror-structures are proliferating, the technical vocabulary which plays a great role since 1945 in common talk is poor (the language of automobilism, sports, movie, economy and technology is no longer Hungarian. Words like grand stand, barb, instrument board, grand total, profit share, sick pay, traffic deflection, etc. I have learned myself from books. And the situation is the same in Upper Hungary and in the Voivodship, although papers from Budapest are available there). The language of the youth, the slang, is in part Romanian and in part enriched with local linguistic elements, not to mention the official idiom (bulletin--identity card, flotant or flotans--transitory resident, szektorista (neighborhood policeman). The transylvanian vernacular has long become independent, the language of the press has drifted apart from that of the Hungarian press--to some extent deliberately (i.e. directed from above)--and it is even more ugly and alien. The literary language is aloof from the present for which it has hardly any expressions; the "savory exoticism" of Transylvanian writings is often only the result of the author's acrobacy in trying to avoid his insoluble linguistical difficulties--for example how to express the adjustment of car lights--thus immersing into poetical mystery or a laconism that speaks volumes and which delights the public in the theaters of Budapest.

Our knowledge about our national problems is tossed about like the sea in a drop of water between crude hypotheses and the nostalgic feelings of the ignorants. In Budapest I am constantly irritated by the incorrect conjugation of certain verbs and the awkward use of certain locutions. However the relative and merely formal purity of the language of Transylvanian Hungarians is no counterweigh to the fact that in the 1977-78 schoolyear in Romania

from 180,000 college students only 7497 were Hungarians, i.e. 4.15 percent of the country's population. Let us add to this that earlier Hungarians were over-represented in higher education (see: KORUNK, 1980/1-2, p. 57). Moreover we should know that usually less than half of the college graduates from ethnic minorities are obtaining a job in areas of their nationality (we have no room here to discuss the allegedly impartial but in fact biased mechanism of obligatory employment). The live birth rate of Hungarians in Romania is 18.36 per thousand, while the national birth rate is 20.8 per thousand and the Transylvanian 20.3 per thousand. (Thus the proportion of Hungarians in the general population is declining also on this side of the Carpathian Mountains and for purely biological, in other words civilization-related causes). One fourth of all Hungarians are already living in the so-called ethnic diaspora. The trend toward the thinning of the Hungarian population density is also obvious in areas called "purely Hungarian" as a result to a great extent of the official settlement policy. In the Szekler land, in Harghita (Csik-Udvarhely) county in 1966 88.1 percent of the population was Hungarian, in 1977 only 85 percent, in Kovaszna (Haromszek) county it declined from 79.4 percent in 1966 to 79.2 percent in 1977 (Sources: Istvan Semlyen, Orszagos es nemzetisegi nepesseggyarapodas [National and Nationality Population Growth] KORUNK Yearbook, Kolozsvar 1980. Detailed and clearly presented statistics can only be found in a British publication: George Schopflin, Hungarians in Romania, Minority Rights Groups, London 1977). [The complete text of this appeared in MAGYAR FUZETEK 5, Paris (the editor).]

The number of Hungarian-language educational institutions is constantly declining in Romania, just like in Slovakia. The typical representative of the Transylvanian-Hungarian intelligentsia is no longer the professor of Kolozsvar, the medical doctor of Marosvasarhely, the lawyer of Nagyvarad, the newspaper editor of Brasso, but the village teacher or the engineer who resides in Wallachia and comes only for visits to Transylvania. The undisputably high-level and dynamic Hungarian cultural activities may lose their understanding audience. Transylvanian-Hungarian culture is becoming ever more a regional phenomenon, its ties with Hungary deteriorating as a result of constant official pressure. Papers for schoolchildren are flooded with bellicose Daco-Romanian poems authored by young Szekler pupils. A term is born to design this: "elcsangosodas" (becoming like Csangos).

The Csango-Hungarians in Moldova have had no Hungarian teachers and priests for centuries (the Vatican had a disgusting role in this respect and this does not seem to change--the Church did not react at all to my glossary concerning this problem). For the Changos the fact that they have co-nationals beyond the Carpathian Mountains looks rather like a legend. I must call attention here to the writings of Peter Pal Domokos about the Changos. Very few people know these meaningful works. This might become the future also of the national culture of 14 million Hungarians in the Danubian Basin.

What happened? We know that in contrast with the Peace Treaty of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon and the policy of the League of Nations, the 1947 Peace Treaties of Paris, the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights do not grant legal protection to the national minorities (See:

Laszlo Kovago, *Kisebbseg - nemzetiseg* [Minority-Nationality] 2nd ed. Kossuth, Budapest 1978, p. 22-24). The collective rights of national minorities do not exist since World War II. International law does not concede them the status of legal entities with distinct collective interests and endowed with the right to be represented and protected. It thereby attributes to all their efforts aiming at autonomy, selfdetermination or independence political character. Thus it is practically impossible to raise legal arguments in favor of minority autonomy or federalism, except when the laws of the state in question allow this. However in countries where the road is open to such legal-political strivings, there cultural autonomy and federalism are usually also possible. Thus according to the present situation where the majority does not allow it, there the minority cannot fight legally for its own rights. What this means has been clearly shown by the too often cited examples of the ETA and the IRA but also by the peaceful successes of the Catalan autonomists.

The late Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Clementis said at the last European peace talks: "..... the national minorities are causes of constant quarrels between the peoples and the states. Therefore Czechoslovakia does not consider it possible to revert to a policy of recognition of them, the impracticability of which was shown by experience..." (Quoted by Kovago, op.cit. p. 31). This is an understandable statement if we recall the Sudeten-German movement of Heinlein or think about the present neo-Nazi or Norbert Burger in South Tyrol. (Burger got more than one hundred thousand votes at last year's presidential elections in Austria). But the consequence of this statement are also clear--we should only remember Kalman Janics' book A hontalansag evei (Years of Homelessness) or, Laszlo Dobos' work Foldonfutok (Refugees). Vlado Clementis was right: the minorities are causes of constant quarrels. Yet their liquidation might have explosive effects.

The United Nations held in 1974 a seminar at Ohrid (Yugoslavia) on the nationality problem. This meeting could of course only draft recommendations. The Yugoslav motion which advocated a U.N. agreement for the global protection of the minorities was rejected by the majority (Kovago, op.cit. p. 116). The official Hungarian stance was cautious: "The need of a multilateral agreement concerning the support to and protection of minority groups did not yet arise in the practice of the Hungarian government." (Kovago, op.cit. p. 157). But the Hungarian delegates also said: "The Hungarian People's Republic is not a party to any specific agreements that entail cooperation in the support to and protection of nationality groups. However the promotion of language teaching and the cultural activities of nationality groups is assured by cultural (emphasis added) agreements with various governments. We have such agreements with Czechoslovakia, the GDR, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia (Kovago, op.cit. p. 156). With Romania, where 2 million Hungarians are living, we have no such agreement.

We do not have any such international treaty as the one which was concluded by Austria and Italy with Yugoslavia, primarily for the protection of the Slovenes in Carinthia and the Italians in Fiume, and which grant some degree

of right to the mother country to intervene in the interest of its nationalities beyond the national borders. However the mentioned agreements and the informal and diplomatic proceedings authorized by them are anyway unique phenomena nowadays.

Professor Miklos Vilaghy, who died recently, proposed in an article in the magazine VALOSAG a reform of the Hungarian Parliament. Later Academician Imre Szabo discussed the taboo of the death penalty in the same paper courageously though cautiously. Following these appealing examples of citizenship initiatives, I would like to propose using the publicity of KORUNK (See the introduction.) that Hungarian diplomacy try to help the Hungarian minorities abroad and the non-Hungarian nationalities at home through bilateral agreements. Between the two World Wars the League of Nations took care of many grievances of Hungarian minorities, and some of them were redressed by sentences of international courts, for example the lawsuit of Transylvanian optants against Romania, et al. At present no state has reasons to be afraid that an international court interferes with its domestic affairs because of minority complaints. Thus any curb on national independence, at least insofar as the minorities are concerned, is out of question. Yet such agreements would help expose any problems which when concealed would threaten to become aggravated and would eliminate such fictions for example that the Yugoslaves of the Backa and the Baranya have nothing to do with each other. They would make it possible for the mother-nations to support financially and organizationally their co-nationals. I presume that Hungarian public opinion would consent to the financial burden of scholarships and books for Hungarians abroad and the financing of institutions of the Hungarian minorities. (By the way there is quite an old precedent for this: On December 5, 1902 a meeting took place in the Hungarian prime minister's office with the participation of Bishop Pal Szmrecsanyi of Szepes, chairman of the St Laszlo Society, Marquis Janos Pallavicini, imperial and royal ambassador to Bucharest and Bishop Gyorgy Bartok of Transylvania, to discuss state contributions to the schooling and cultural activities of Hungarians in Romania, like the Csangos and emigres in Bucharest. G. Gabor, Iratok a nemzetisegi kerdes torteneterol [Documents concerning the history of the nationality question] III Tankonyvkiado, Budapest 1964, p. 184). And it would also be desirable to obtain assurance that Hungarian-language books should not be confiscated on the border by the Romanian authorities, particularly those whose titles happen to include the work "Hungarian."

We cannot dispute the validity of the borders. They are what they are. The policy of certain countries is not on discussion either since we can hardly influence it. But we would do with some modest help, and the Hungarian government cannot ignore this obligation.

And insofar as the socialist system of selfdetermination is concerned ".... it is the right of the nations and nationalities to manage their own affairs Obviously their self-determination cannot be put in practice in isolation. In other words it can only then be accomplished when the entire society enjoys selfdetermination, and the self-management of the nationalities

fits in this framework (Zador Tordai, Gondolatok es abrandok a nemzetisegi kerdes menten [Thoughts and Reveries Along the Nationality Question] in Kozonseges emberi dolgok [Ordinary Human Things] Magveto, Budapest 1974, p. 352).

This socialist program is very old, in its first version it was drafted by Karl Renner and Otto Bauer. One of their commentators summarized their conception in this way: "This program can only be implemented if we remove the nationality aspirations from the area of political infighting, and if we change the power aspect of the nationality problem into a cultural problem that each nationality can solve according to its best judgment and to the extent of its own resources. Also the religious conflicts have only then lost their destructive character when the territorial principle was replaced by the concept of religious autonomy that made it possible that the faithful of all religions freely establish their own communities and pursue their religious aspirations. The nationality problem can likewise only be solved on the basis of the autonomy of nationalities that converts a political-power question into a question of conscience and culture." (Oszkar Jaszi, Nehany szempont e nemzetisegi kerdeshez [A Few Viepoints About the Nationality Question] in A szociologia elso magyar muhelye [The First Hungarian Workshop of Sociology] Gondolat, Budapest, 1973 p. 434).

The political meaning of this conscience-cultural context was defined--with reference to the oppressed classes but applicable also to the oppressed ethnic groups--by a great socialist theoretician in the following: ".... the class struggle of an oppressed class has essentially idealistic contents--even if its origin is economic interest. For what is the essence of all struggles of an ambitious social class? It has to regard all what it had experienced as ignorance, poverty and oppression not only as retarding factors but also as outright silly, unjust and immoral. Thus its class-demands are also the demands of its new intelligence and its new morality. All class-struggles are the necessary fights of the oppressed classes for intelligence, morality and justice." (Max Adler, A szocializmus kulturjel entosege [The Cultural significance of Socialism] Documentation by the Central Committee of the Socialdemocratic Party, Budapest, August 1947, p. 38). Austro-Marxism transferred this image of the proletarian movement to the movements of national emancipation determining thereby the ideas of the Hungarian Left in the beginning of this century, particularly the thought of Ady, Jaszi and other radicals. Roughly but not incorrectly we might say that the core of socialist ideas concerning this subject is group emancipation that goes beyond the emancipation of the individual. (This was also Vasile Goldis' view, who was Jaszi's Romanian friend and a socialist residing in Hungary. His Hungarian-language book: A nemzetisegi kerdes [The Nationality Question], that was published in 1912 at Arad, reaped great success in Transylvania in the 1950s with Jozsef Hajdu's excellent commentaries. Another edition of this work included an essay by the Academician Erno Gall, and it was translated into Romanian. In 1918 Goldis ceased to negotiate with Jaszi and proclaimed a democratic program concerning the nationalities at the Romanian National Assembly in Gyulafehevar, on December 1st of the same year. This occurred already in the Great-Romanian

national Monarchy under Ferdinand von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, under the shield of Marshall Averescu's advancing troops toward Budapest). Our experience of the past 63 years confirms that the protection of public institutions is the cornerstone of a democratic nationalities policy.

According to the opinion of a contemporary socialist expert of the nationality question: "From the viewpoint of 'national self-government' it is of fundamental importance that the special interests of the nationalities and thereby the assertion of their national characteristics should be provided on a broader than village basis. In this context the autonomous provinces have a crucial role, among others in the area of the implementation of collective rights" (emphasis added) (Laszlo Rehak, Kisebbségtől a nemzetiségig [From Minority to Nationality], Forum, Ujvidek, 1979, p. 237).

It is widely known that both the 2nd and 3rd International considered the so-called successor-states of the Peace Treaty of Versailles as multinational states and demanded selfdetermination for their national minorities, including the right of secession. The Hungarian-Jewish majority of the old Romanian Communist Party is a consequence of this (more exactly this was a Hungarian, Hungarian-Jewish and Jewish majority, the latter term meaning something different in Romania than in Hungary where assimilation prevailed, since it included Jiddish-speaking Moldavian, Besarabian and Bucovinian revolutionaries). Another consequence is the Comintern-criticism of the present Romanian leadership. The MADOSZ [Hungarian Democratic National Federation] and its successor the Magyar Nepi Szovetseg [Hungarian People's Federation], which was dissolved at the same time when the trials of the Hungarian leaders Gyarfas, Kurko, Jozsef Meliusz, Edgar Balogh, Janos Demeter, Lajos Csogor, Lajos Jordaky and Roman Catholic Bishop Aron Marton of Gyulafehervar took place, had once constituted the backbone of the Romanian Communist Party.

The problem of minority autonomy played a decisive role in the Romanian changes in March 1945. The reannexation of Northern Transylvania and the takeover by the Communist-oriented Groza-government, who guaranteed the rights of the Hungarian minority, occurred--by the grace of Stalin--"uno eodemque actu."

Insofar as the contents of minority selfdetermination and autonomy are, which brought both hope and anxiety for the Hungarians, was synthesized by Gabor Gaal in Kolozsvar in 1946: "We Hungarians in Romania will be either the new people of Greece or we shall perish altogether. We shall survive if we make democracy a reality among ourselves and will inspire our environment by our example in the diaspora--or we will be lost. When winter comes even the vagabond has to protect himself against the cold. We also have to protect ourselves Wind is always more icy in Transylvania ..." (Quoted by Zador Tordai, Legyünk realisták [We Should Be Realists] Magveto, Budapest, 1977, p. 144)

In 1948 the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations, complying with a resolution of the UN General Assembly, worked out draft-rules concerning the protection of the minorities. This draft included the famous 25th

article: "In the states in which there are ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities, persons pertaining to such minorities cannot be deprived from their right to carry out, together with other members of their group, cultural activities, to worship in their religion and to use their language." (Quoted by Rehak, op.cit. p. 102). This draft-resolution has not been put on the UN agenda until now.

In Czechoslovakia the so-called presidential decree No. 33 (Benes) deprived on August 2, 1945 a sweeping majority of the Hungarians in Slovakia from their Czechoslovak citizenship. This decree-law also reconfirmed certain discriminatory measures which were taken earlier. In terms of a February 1945 decree of the Slovak national Council "the agricultural landed property of Germans, Hungarians, traitors and enemies was confiscated. This measure was followed by others that seized all personal effects and real estate property of the Hungarian population." (Endre Arato, Tanulmányok a szlovákiai magyarok történetéből [Studies Concerning the History of Hungarians in Slovakia] Magveto, Budapest, 1977, p. 348). This was followed by the eviction, internment, resettlement, "exchange of population" and "re-Slovakization" of the Hungarian population.

What happened? Was all this a Hungarian stroke of fate? Those whom we had ruled nursed this opinion about us: "Slovaks are writhing like worms under the sole of the Hungarian tyrants .. savage as this Bashkir race had always been, it is still so ... the wrath of these Bashkir guys is unhindered and boundless." (Pospisil Hurban, 1841, cited by Endre Kovacs, Szemben a történelemmel: A nemzetiségi kérdés Magyarországon [Facing History: The Nationality Question in Hungary] Magveto, Budapest, 1977, p. 195). And this was the idea of those who ruled us: "...all Hungarians, regardless of whether they are ministers, princes, cardinals, bourgeois, hussars or valets, are revolutionary scums (Archduke Franz Ferdinand, cited by Andras Gergely and Zoltan Szasz, A kiegyezés után [After the Ausgleich] Budapest, 1978, p. 234).

Why is it that we are, though for diametrically opposed motives, unquestionably Europe's most unpopular nation? Ady saw this so:

God never granted us
That those who love us
Help us.

We also loved rarely
Those whom we heroically
Joined in their struggle

There were somehow troubles always
Troubles of our soul
This mended patch

We courted alike
Friend and foe
For we had to do so

We were always disappointed
But this is our woe
And it is better so

Thus it is nicer to survive and strive
For everything in the Hungarian way
While tormented

We may wonder whether this "we" who did so and to whom it happened so had ever existed. But it is immaterial who did it and to whom it occurred, it became our fate anyway. It is not unusual that the innocent are condemned because they are somehow connected with the culprits. And after so many sins I would no longer have any strength to pass judgment over the real culprits.

And the trouble is that we, just like our adversaries and friends, have the wrong ethical concept of nation and nationality. Often it might appear to be likely that an ethnic group deserved its right to survival only then when according to the questionable criteria of its judges it proved to be "good", i.e. its history is qualified as being of "progressive" character and its culture of ancient origin. For example Dăcian King Decebal founded a state centuries before the arrival of the Hungarians to the Danubian Basin. Thus his national character appears to be congenial, his policy categorized as being on the "right side," etc. (This is what Jeno Szucs calls speculations with history). The harassment of Hungarians in Slovakia is criticized by many with the argument that the Fascist infection was not virulent enough to justify it. On the other hand the need to protect Hungarian culture in Transylvania is advocated by the same arguing that this culture preserves valuable traditions. Such argumentation is perfectly identical with the reasoning of our adversaries--the nationalists everywhere. The principle of collective responsibility causes innocents to suffer (and therefore it is very immoral) even when the number of culprits is greater in a human group than a certain--of course arbitrarily defined--quota. Discrimination and persecution are crimes regardless of their victims, except if they are morally and juridically justified and correct. For the sphere of authority of the positive law comprises only the weighing of individual responsibility, while the general, i.e. natural law contains provisions only concerning the duties toward groups of people, i.e. concerning human rights.

I often heard it said that the threat to the Transylvanian Hungarians culture is tragic since therein an intellectual product is in jeopardy that is more European than the Romanian culture, and that Byzantine-Orthodox Eastern barbarism begins beyond the Carpathian Mountains (the way this is said is sometimes even harder). Hypothetically speaking there might be some rationale to this statement or even some truth in it, yet these cannot justify it. They should not indeed. For it would imply that ethnic groups without sophisticated civilization should be condemned to voluntary or forced assimilation. Anyone who would pretend this should ask the 18th century Hungarian writers who started the country's literary renaissance, the Gypsy intellectuals of our era, or anyone in the Third World. It is playing with fire to say such things.

The survival of every ethnic group is valuable if the group in question wants to survive, (we are obliged to respect this will as a value that ought to be realized). For, to judge and weigh the value of any human group from the position of an outside observer would undermine the two pillars of European civilization--this is what Fascism and other dictatorships had done--namely the freedom of will and the theoretical equality of men. Nobody is entitled to decide from outside whether or not other people deserve an autonomous life, worth of human beings and determined by their own will. Such criminal way of thinking is inadmissible and not only because of its consequences.

"To belong to a cultured nation is even less an object of free choice than belonging to the sociological nation. The ontological inevitability that comes across in this case is, just like in ethics, an expression of the only way human freedom can be realized, i.e. by man's liberation from the casualties of empirism, his act of choosing himself and his own substance ... the free selfdetermination of a free subject." (Gyorgy Lukacs, Hozzajarulas a nemzetisegi kerdes vitajahoz [Contribution to the Discussion on the Nationalities Problem] 1918 in A Vasarnapi kor, Gondolat, Budapest, 1980, p. 293). Assimilation by force or by cunning stifles this free action--therefore to choose myself and ourselves does not require any moral advocacy. It is understandable, although it cannot be approved, that in a theological debate one group which adheres to a certain tenet emerges as the one who is considered to be the "better" group. This depends on the interpretation of a given article of the faith and in order to conceptualize and put into practice the abstract requirements of tolerance we are bound to pay no heed to the dogma in question. (For because of our tolerance eternal damnation might be ahead for those who got stuck in what is considered to be the "wrong Church"). A nation is not a voluntary association of people. Membership in it does not imply any individual responsibility. Consequently, while maintaining the validity of the principle that people have absolute freedom to quit the nation--which is merely theoretical, we hardly find such cases in practice--it can be stated that assimilation under duress or for egotistic personal interests motivated by the discriminatory policies of a state, is inadmissible at least from socialist, democratic or liberal viewpoints.

We lived through the dire consequences of the above described way of thinking. The wiping out of ethnic groups in Auschwitz, the destruction of social classes in Comrade Pol Pot's death camps are clear proofs of this. The autonomous and self-managed political existence of the peoples is justified by their political will motivated by their political imagination. They do not need historical rights (above all when they are false). Imaginary historic arguments are always false--this was fully demonstrated by historiography. Jeno Szucs proved in his outstanding works satisfactorily that a society imbued with the concept of the democracy of selfgoverning people (or democracy tout court ..) does not need historic hypotheses. Such people do not search for their historic identity (what is Hungarian?) but try to identify what their own will is. For nothing can be deducted from the sad reveries about the "psyche of the Hungarian wine-groves" (Szekfu), not to mention even less valid examples, in our attempt to clarify

what befits the Hungarians. Autonomy determines its own limits. If Hungarians are deserving what they want then they cannot covet what belongs to others, for this diminishes their own autonomy and curbs the principle of their free will and dignity. Those vulgar philosophical phantasies which are based on the metaphysical essence or vocation of an ethnic group or a social class cannot constitute the foundation of any right. For the only base of right is freedom, and freedom is indivisible and universal....universal, catholic, it is indeed a shame we still have to emphasize this 2000 years after Christ.

When the laws of a state stipulate minority rule over the majority it is as unjust as when the laws do not protect the minority against abuses by the majority. For if equality makes individual positions inadmissible since they differ from the official positions (as the situation in a centralized state molded on the Jacobean model is) then liberty eventually becomes self-destructive. A majority may have all kinds of aspirations except for trying to absolutize its own stance by endowing itself with additional rights, only because it is a majority. If our conception of a just government system is based on the sovereignty and moral freedom of the individual, then we have to protect a single person's stance and the dignity of his intentions against the opinion of even one hundred million. Only the validity of his claims can be weighed. Should I recall that Hitler came to power by a majority vote? We know this.

It follows from all these that between civilizations, nations, professional groups, social classes, races and trends there might arise "content-material" conflicts which can be rationally discussed. By the way, there is also a rivalry between all these. Czech democracy differs from the republicanism of the Polish nobility, as well as from the Hungarian disputes about constitutional questions, Romanian rhetoric about plebeian history, the "deep" Russian trend toward popularism, etc, just to mention the most well-known historic traditions.

But if all this is elevated to the rank of national characterology, then it is damned. Hungarians do not believe in Czech democracy since we remember the shooting at Nemeskossuth, the intrigues of the Little Entente and the expulsion of Hungarians from Czechoslovakia, and nothing else. The fact that Czech democracy entered into alliances with the semi-feudal monarchies of Great-Yugoslavia and Great-Romania shows its defects. Unfortunately the fact that Benes wanted blood revenge instead of plebiscite demonstrates the same. (Undoubtedly it is chilling to read about how Benes rejected the approaches of Jaksch and his Sudeten-German associates during World War II, although they were anti-Fascist emigres just like him. Eventually then Gottwald and company had to rivalize with Benes in chauvinism). On account of these, by no means minor sins, it was then easy to boost surreptitiously distrust toward the--I must say grandiose and enviable--Czech-Hussite tradition. There was no need for what Konczol calls explicit "sickle and hammer nationalism" to nourish this distrust. But to go a step further: between 1919 and 1945 Hungary had sinned more than Czechoslovakia. Was it therefore justifiable to harass the Hungarians there? Moreover why were there many

Hungarian, Slovak and Romanian fascists, and why only a few among the Czechs and Poles? Why were there only a few Czech, Hungarian and Romanian partisans, and many French, Italian, Serbian and Polish? Why an uprising in the Warsaw ghetto took place, and none in that of Budapest? Why did the French collaborate with the occupation forces and the Dutch, Danes and Greeks did not? Why was Marshall Antonescu respected by Hitler as well as by one of the most outstanding Romanian writers? There were two extreme leftist terrorists in Tsarist Russia: one was called Pilsudski and the other Dsugasvili. Why did the former become a radical-conservative Polish statesman and the latter, who was a member of a national minority a Great-Russian Bolshevik? Why are Greek tourist agencies advertizing trips to the "City" instead of putting plainly Constantinople or Istanbul? These are unscientific and silly questions. Yet we know that they are frequently talked-about topics in east-central Europe. Who killed more Jews--the Romanians or the Hungarians? Unbelievable question but it is raised so often ...

The rivalry of countries and peoples is not only and not even predominantly rational.* (This cannot be an allowance to naturalist-biological reduction). "The basis, the ground, the starting point and the logical premise are the lack of critical acumen, the rest grows out of it. Such a way of thinking gave up the assessment of things according to value criteria, is unable to discern such specific issues as the national task and the grave problems of Hungarians and is inevitably exposed to the temptation to accept indiscriminately foreign concepts, like racial theory, race-protection, national egotism and others at odds with the nation's historic past and present vocation and character, and which we have to judge independently from their German origin and only according to immanent criteria. If this unveils lack of logic and contradictions in us, it is obvious that it causes confusion and irresolvable logical contradictions in the nation--that is intellect, conscience and will--with respect to its identity. Such theories which exalt the concept of the nation and elevate it above everything dim the very meaning of it." (Lajos Fulep, *Nemzeti oncelusag* [National Egocentrism] *Valasz*, May 1934.**

Traditions and values supported by traditions may be at odds with each other and indeed they are often so. Yet insofar as the Czech sense of legality, the proud and sensitive Polish dignity, the coffeehouse-nursed Hungarian political irony, the pragmatic-sceptical Romanian wisdom and the profound Russian pathos of justice are concerned, we cannot compare these heritages nor acquire them once they become national or--heaven forbid--racial identities. After all we could interpolate another nation's name with all these national characteristics and nothing unusual would come out.

* See for this Miklos Szabo, *Nemzetkarakter es ressentiment* [National Character and Ressentiment] *Vilagossag*, 1981/6, pp. 358-363

** In *Muveszet es Vilagnezet* [Arts and Ideology] Timar ed., Magveto, Budapest, 1976, p. 176. About the fake attempts to generalize organically separated principles see: M.G. Tamas *A filozofia vigasza* [The Consolation of Philosophy] *Hid* June 1979, p. 783

The functions of these allegedly eternal and a-historical identities is that an elite that invents them might propagate them for its own benefit and according to its own ideology with all the symbolical, emblematic, ritual, propagandistic and manipulating means at its disposal. With the changes in history such cliches as the chaste and heroic German warrior might soon become ridiculous. Yet even more profound symbols are often produced without consulting those who are involved. For even if the past justified a relatively homogeneous pattern of the national character, the nation or some of its groups or individuals might want something different (as the late Gyorgy Bretter said in one of his well-known "boutade" Here but Something Different). In such cases the conservatives who insist on the lasting character of national identity might say, even if they are not nationalists, that such persons or groups have lost their roots and that they have been denationalized. The melancholically religious and "mioritic" Romanian herdsman imbued with metaphysical longing for death--the expression was taken by the famous poet and philosopher Lucian Blaga from the original title of a beautiful Romanian popular ballad "The Lamb" which was called "Miorica--can hardly be applied to depict the Romanian peasant of the plains, let alone the martial defender of the homeland, who are nowadays also described as "mioritic." In this way the Balcanic-Levantine features of the Romanian national character are likely to disappear which I think would be unfortunate, and the culture nourished by this heritage--let us point to the oeuvre of the two Caragiale and Ion Barbu who were inspired by Aristophanes, Rabelais, Rabelais, Kavafis and Moreas--could be stigmatized as cosmopolitan. Or else (and this occurs more often) the temperamental and voracious Romanian vitality is placed into a kind of morbid culture-morphology and described as the ideological crisis of the inhabitants of the misty Carpathian Mountains. This reminds me that it fell to Zoltan Fabry to defend Good Soldier Schweik against Czech chauvinism. All these could be of course cited in connection with Lajos Prohaszka's and Gabor Lukacs' typologies. A national character emerges when--as Sandor Csoori wrote in an article in ELET ES IRODALOM--the nation debomes a "joint undertaking." Such an undertaking does not develop automatically. We have to work on it and we have to have concrete aims which go beyond such minimums as the survival and preservation of the traditions, the independence of the nation, etc. The differences lie beyond those minimums but those differences in politics and morality constitute the lasting contents of national consciousness, and those who oppose them tend to isolate themselves from the national community. During the reform era and the 1848-49 fight for freedom the Szechenyi-Kossuth antagonism formed part of our national consciousness with all its alternatives. Which one of the two is more representative for us Hungarians? This is merely a question of temperament and morale. But the identity and continuity of our problems is entirely ours.

The ethnic-culture facts are not biological--if they were we could not change them, but we know that blood might dissolve into water, a mother-tongue may be forgotten and the proudest neck may be put to the yoke. Anyone who obstructs people's choice of their identity and culture (in the daily plebiscite as Renan had put it) either by forced assimilation or by enticing them with material advantages, commits a crime against their liberty. The value of cultures cannot be compared and collective responsibility up to

the seventh generation is a moral absurdity. (We do not reproach the Malaysian and Indonesian babies that their ascendants had been made pogroms in the Chinese neighborhoods. Yet they would have to meditate on it later ...). Pressure on a nation is inexcusable.

People thought and we did so too that if certain problems will be solved then the nationality question will lose its *raison d'être*. It did not happen so. Thus we should not think that the nation-nationality problems are issues subordinated to the task we have to perform, namely the creation of an east-central European democracy. In our geographic area neither democratic nor autocratic government systems were able to cope with this. (Although it is questionable whether democracies have ever existed in this area.) And, in order to avoid citing constantly Gombos and Teleki alone [Hungarian prime ministers between the two World Wars] let us quote a Romanian marxist, a former secretary general of the RCP: "The problem of democracy arises otherwise in those countries which never had a democratic government and which had to endure fascist dictatorships, than in those in which real democracy never has been in jeopardy, let alone been destroyed-- particularly in case of countries in which fascism has been supported by large masses and fascist and reactionary-chauvinist mentality has been widespread. Let us take our country as an example. Has it ever had a democratic tradition? Did democratic and labor movements ever exert influence on politics in the past? How many democratic intellectuals have ever been at work in our country? Did the anti-democratic and fascist ideas not contaminate our entire literature and the press? Was the voice of the working class and indeed that of the entire people not stifled? Except for Germany was there any fascist movement with the same sway over the masses and the youth as that of the legionaries (the Iron Guard)? Where else except here did such political parties exist which called themselves "democratic" and governed us with martial law, terror and the suppression of the exploited masses' freedom? (Lothar Radaceanu, Nyugati demokraciak keleten? [Western Democracies in the East?] Documentation of the Central Educational Secretariat of the Hungarian Socialdemocratic Party, Budapest 1947, p. 4.) And let us add that there were also anti-German extreme rightist political trends: Colonel Beck, Metaxas, Dezso Szabo, etc.

More than that, the nationality question cannot serve as a criterion of a regime's quality. Romania during the Stalinist period paid more attention to the schooling of the minorities than it does at present. And during that period the harassment of Hungarians in Slovakia abated and cultural autonomy was granted to the Sorbs in the GDR. For this reason we sometimes get nostalgic about Transylvania after Stalin's times.

Undoubtedly it is difficult to take a differentiated point of view. The vicious circle may come near to closing and some of the Transylvanian Hungarians seem to long after the Kominform and they seem to be blind toward the values of Romanian national independence. The rivalry of the ethnic groups and the manipulative mixing of certain content elements may serve as another sociological pretext for the discrimination of the Hungarians by the Romanian government.

However no ethnic group has deserved its right to self-affirmation, autonomous cultural activities and independent political existence on the grounds of an external and abstract cliché and dictate. There is no terrestrial judge over human groups who could pass judgment over them or distribute manna among them. Such judgment would hurt the dignity and would violate the principle of limitedness of the human administration of justice. Therefore we should not raise content arguments in favor of individual and collective human rights. Socio-psychological sympathies and antipathies vis-a-vis the out-group [sic] do not weigh at all on the balance.

The nation and the various ethnic groups are children of history. Traditions and languages are carriers of values and they suggest preferences. The now perfidious, now local complicity of glances exchanged and shoulders raised transmit the heritage of forgotten togetherness and the memory of struggles long forgotten. It is possible--why not--that our culture indulges in wrong complicities. These may be changed but only then when such changes preserve our right to existence and continuity. Radical judgments could be passed by a Szechenyi and an Ady; Hungarian nationalism could be swept from the national agenda by Janos Erdelyi and Ervin Szabo, but neither Haynau nor Bach and Clemenceau and so many other foreigners were entitled to do so. But the trouble is not that the latter were aliens to us, we have to learn something in matters of national consciousness from Miroslav Krleža for example. But Hungarian civilization cannot be instructed with fatal blows.

We may accept teaching from anybody. But we also have to tell everything what we know with dignity, taking care about the sensitivity of the others but without fear and submissiveness. Istvan Bibó wrote soon after World War II that the greatest threat to East European democracy is fear. We should not have fear. It is not true that with frank statements we may imperil the situation of those about whom we are concerned. Our silence--shameful at times--did not help anybody.* But we should sweep before our door by exemplary demonstrations of our sense of justice, tolerance, humanism, liberal and international minded thought, while being unmindful of possible future national advantages. (It would be high time for example to make some progress in the use of names in the languages of the national minorities as well as in the use of multilingual inscriptions. My glossary in ES which referred to this issue had a favorable echo but no major effect.) We have to behave in an irreproachable way for the sake of showing a good example rather than to curry the favor of those who follow us. Good is its own and its opposite's test, we may say paraphrasing Spinoza.

Why do I think that the minority problem is the Hungarian problem. The explanation is simple: this issue affects us all and it is such a national cause that only the internationalist-democratic mind has a prescription for it. In this respect all reserves and credit of egotism are exhausted.

* There are only two travelogues which tell the truth about Transylvania, that of Laszlo Nemeth (Magyarok Romaniaban) and that of Imre Csecy (Vilagos pillanat--A Bright Moment).

Hungarians can show that they are able to give voice to their griefs which were left untold thus far. Our solidarity belongs to everybody but our business is only to protect the Hungarians who are not living with us, who are beyond our borders. It is clear that the former proposition is correlated with the latter. A chauvinist who is unable of democratic thought will have petty proposals. He will suggest that we should not mention the small preoccupations here in one breath with the great tragedies there. Yet he is wrong since what we have to demand is the same here and there. And if on a just balance the others will be found lighter, it will be our advantage, but this is not the merit of the chauvinists. One of our late active politicians understood this very well: "The disciples of 26 years of counterrevolution cannot put up with the idea of liberty which is the most precious human treasure. Above all since liberty is a treasure of everybody, and [in their opinion] what is the value of a treasure in which everybody can participate." (Anna Kethly, Neveles a szabadsagra [Education for freedom] in Szocializmus, 5/3 1945, p. 132).

In the July 1849 debate of the Hungarian National Assembly Bertalan Szemere said: "National development should be allowed to all peoples. National identity is not the purpose but a vehicle of liberty, just as liberty is not the purpose but a vehicle of human and civic striving toward perfection." (Quoted by Endre Kovacs, op. cit. p. 36).

120 years ago in 1861--when it was already too late--Kossuth explained in the 11th point of his Danubian confederation plan his until now unrealized minimum program of a tolerable east-European nationality policy, that was a kind of cultural autonomy (see the text in Gyorgy Szabad's book: Kossuth politikai pályaja [Kossuth's Political Career] Magyar Helikon, Budapest 1977, p. 186). In 1972 Deak made in Parliament the following statement worth some serious thought: "I cannot at all reconcile with justice that the state uses the taxes levied for the sake of one single nationality and one linguistic group...In my view they should be used for all nationalities or for none at all." (Quoted by Magyarország története [A History of Hungary 6.2 Akadémia Publishers, Budapest, 1979, p. 1356). Kossuth's plan was belated, Deak's remark had no follow-up, and Eotvos continues to be misunderstood until now. All this caused a lot of trouble as we know too well. Did we take the lesson to heart? Maybe. Will somebody take the lessons of our time seriously? Let us hope yes. There is a lot at stake. We saw it at Kosowo.

If we were capable of charity without egoism, strength without hatred, help without flash in the pan and ballyhoo, judgment without ill-willed and boasting jealousy, analysis without cool cynicism, compassion without sentimentalism, endurance without excesses, exactitude without pedantry, love of justice without fantasies, pride without self-indulgence, modesty without self-disgust, caution without growing silly, wisdom without primitive cunning, liberal mind without relativist immorality, east-European community spirit without fossil provincialism--well then the situation would grow clearer and we, the few who are aware of what is in store (not by prophetic ability but by our experience) would not have the impression that the match is approaching the fuse of the powderkeg.

"The Hungarians--wrote Szechenyi--were those who after being graciously accepted by the predecessors of your Majesty in the Austrian state-mosaic, were never able to obey like your Majesty's other loyal sheep and wethers; they were responsible for your Majesty's difficulties in bringing his empire to full blossoming, and now again they are bold enough to offend your Majesty with petitions, although they are completely subdued and there are still among them symptoms which cause great concern. For the rattlesnake is not dangerous despite its poison--in America children laugh about it since it is so stupid as to rattle before biting. Hungarians were always strongly rattling in the past, while--God knows--they were not venomous at all. But after so many of them were hung, spitted down and humiliated and made victims of indignities their rattling stopped. Thus they do not rattle any more but I wonder whether they did not become poisonous. This is not impossible but believable since it is said that the water tophus is nothing else but the poisonous foam of a human being tortured to death." (Nagy magyar szatira [Great Hungarian Satire] In Count Istvan Szechenyi's Doblingi irodalmi hagyatek [Literary Legacy from Dobling] Arpad Karolyi ed., Collected Works VIII, Atheneum, Budapest 1922, pp. 305 ff.)

The Hungarian question has already some times poisoned Europe's air. We should not be like the Bourbons, but we should learn and forget.

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REPORT EXAMINES PRISON LIFE

Report's Introduction

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Apr 83, Supplement pp 7-13

[Three part article: "The Closed World"]

[Text] At first hearing the question may appear a paradox: Can a man be free in the very place in which he is limited in his freedom? Can he be free, can he preserve and develop his human identity in, for example, a prison, to which he was sent for some action dangerous to society?

The answer--despite all contradictory appearances--is yes. It is true that those sentenced to prison are not free in their exercise of movement and certain civil rights, but they are--or can be--in other areas: in work, in self-cultivation, in communal life, in maintaining contact with the outside world. And especially in influencing the development of their later lives.

The only question is, are the personnel and objective conditions for this given? Can the personality of prisoners be preserved, should it be preserved, and by what means? Are the circumstances appropriate, for much depends on this?

In our collection we have tried to cast light on what is unique in and how free this closed world is.

Rights Behind Bars

✓ Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Apr 83, Supplement pp 7-9

[Article by A.B.B.]

[Text] In 1979 the Presidential Council of the People's Republic passed a law decree about the execution of punishment. The new regulation invalidated a decree passed in 1966, one rendered obsolete by life. We could recently read in the legal journal JOGPOLITIKA an article about the execution of Law Decree II, 1979. Among other things the author noted that the perfect and full implementation of the valid regulations was hindered--in matters of detail--by the possible lack or limited nature of the conditions. He talked about the relationship of goals and means, the effect of loss of freedom punishment and the condition of the prisons.

The author of the article was Major General Tibor Nagy, chief of the National Headquarters of the Penal Authority. We asked him to outline for our readers the experiences thus far in carrying out the law decree in effect and to describe the situation, tasks and problems of domestic penal institutions.

"As can be seen from my article, Law Decree II, 1979, is being implemented continuously. As for the rights of prisoners and how they are treated it has been realized perfectly from the moment the regulations went into effect. There has not been full implementation in regard to housing, supply, education and a few questions of detail which have a material aspect; these are being realized as conditions are available.

"It would be impossible to realize simultaneously and perfectly every perscription amidst our present economic difficulties, but we are getting ever closer to attaining the goals of the legislation, with diligent work and consistency. The law decree made fundamental changes in two respects as compared to the preceding penal regulations. On the one hand it places greater emphasis on education of the prisoners, on a positive transformation of their personality. On the other hand it permits the use of only humane methods in the course of execution of punishment, eliminating all methods harmful to their health or physical and psychological balance, such as dark-cells or reducing rations. Deterrence has been replaced by a desire to return the prisoners to society, as one of the basic principles of socialist administration of justice."

"Still, the number of repeat criminals increases year by year. Does not this suggest the failure of the educational and integrational aspirations?"

"There is a prior history to recidivism, people who take up a life of crime. Penal institutions cannot counterbalance in a relatively short time the unperformed tasks of family, school and society. The average length of court sentences is one to one and a half years. In this time even the best trained correction officers, psychologists or remedial teachers cannot make up for all the neglect and errors made in the prior lives of the prisoners. Our effort is to change the intentions of the prisoner, so that he would give up the idea of supporting himself from crime again after he is freed, and try to integrate into normal social life and accept the natural relations and values of people. But whether he will succeed, find work and housing, whether his family will accept him back--all this is outside the sphere of the penal institutions. It is increasingly difficult to find a job, in many cases he cannot break with his old environment, he cannot always make out materially, he cannot have the life he imagined, housing almost always causes a problem, the workers' barracks of the enterprises do not have unlimited capacity either. The patron system helps a lot in this area, but it is far from perfect."

"In a number of places the regulations speak of the rights of prisoners. How are these realized in practice, in the naturally closed, strict prison, jail and penitentiary system?"

"The Penal Regulations precisely define the rights of prisoners. One of the most important of these is the right to lodge complaints, according to which

one can ask remedy for individual grievances. If the prisoner does not consider the measure satisfactory he can turn with his complaint to the commander of the institution. If he is not satisfied with the decision of the commander either, his grievance will be examined by the National Penal Authority. A prisoner can exercise his rights and responsibilities only if he does not violate the system carrying out punishment. A prisoner can demand a hearing with the appropriate attorney. He can make use of his right to training and culture too. Those who have not finished general school can continue their studies in prison; indeed, the regulations prescribe that every prisoner under 40 years of age is obliged to continue or at least start his studies in prison, if he does not have a general school certificate. Those who have finished the eighth grade can study a trade, primarily in a light industry branch, and there will be no sign on the certificate that the prisoner got his training in prison. But since, as I said, the average sentence is one or one and a half years and since one cannot learn a trade in this time, most get training in some semi-skilled work.

"A prisoner has the right to use the mass media--he can read newspapers, listen to the radio, watch television. Recently, disciplined groups maintaining exemplary order can even have television sets in the cells. According to the new law the right of the prisoner to correspond cannot be withdrawn under any circumstances; he can get more packages and meet with his relatives more frequently than before. It is also a new provision that those sentenced to jail or prison can get 6 days paid vacation per year after a year of continuous work and disciplined behavior. They spend this in an institution in a so-called free area with a relatively unfixed schedule but in exceptional cases--as a reward--they can leave for a few days and spend time with their families."

"In general the prisoners work in an economic unit of the penal institution--a factory or farm. Do the units have an enterprise or budgetary system? What wages do the workers get?"

"Naturally a penal institution is a budgetary organ; maintaining the prisoners and the expenses of the apparatus are covered by the budget.

"But we have 12 enterprises just like any unit of the economy, with the difference that prisoners serving time provide the manpower. These have the same difficulties as other management units, as in the economy in general, such as problems with material supply, market problems and questions of economy. Generating a shares fund, the restricted nature of the developmental fund and the obligation to pay taxes apply to us just as to any Hungarian enterprise.

"Some of the prisoners do not work in the economy but rather on maintaining the institution. They get their wages from the budget too. It is our intention, formulated in the law, that the wages of prisoners reach an average between the lower and middle level of those employed in the appropriate trade. We have reached the lower level but we have not gotten any higher yet. The average wage of workers is 2,200 forints, that of those employed in the institution is somewhat lower. Do not forget that a large part of the prisoners have no skilled training and do not really like to work--and this can be seen in their performance and consequently in their pay also."

"Could you briefly describe the personnel situation in penal institutions?"

"The penal force is an independent armed body under the supervision of the minister of justice. Like every armed body we have both uniformed and civilian employees. In regard to numbers and ratio the guard personnel are most numerous; in general they carry out their tasks in a manner worthy of their profession. We would like it if the majority of the guards had secondary school diplomas, but this is not easy to attain. The size of our educational apparatus approaches 300 and 90 percent of them have higher education or teacher training. Many of our officers have two diplomas; in addition to their officer's training they have degrees in teaching, law, technical or other subjects. Replacements are difficult to ensure in the case of guard personnel; unfortunately, no uniformed service is attractive to today's youth; this involves more obligations and demands greater discipline than any civilian occupation. Our salaries do not exceed the average pay of a good skilled worker. Despite this, we trust that there will be enough applicants in the future too, because although the work is hard it is socially useful and its humane nature is indisputable."

Model Prison

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Apr 83, Supplement pp 10-11

[Article by Balint and Franka]

[Text] "Before World War II this land belonged to the Zirc Monastery. The decision to make it into a prison was made in 1951. Why then, and why was a penal institution created here of all places?"

"At that time the construction of Sztalinvaros was proceeding at a forced pace. Despite the national recruiting there were not enough workers, so it seemed rational and economical to have prisoners participate in the work also. In contrast to the forced solution of that time, today the Palhalma is one of the most modern penal institutions in the country."

Captain Peter Kethelyi, the deputy prison commander, was dictating an urgent report. Between paragraphs he said that the institution had three units, far from one another even geographically. Many of the prisoners are under 30 years of age. Their sentences range from a few months to 5-6 years. In general they came here for theft, robbery or embezzlement.

They do agricultural and industrial work. Among other things, they weld frames and make sheet goods in the Sandorhaz plant or the Danube Iron Works. In the fields they produce corn, wheat and sunflowers, providing feed for hog and cattle raising.

A young man in black broadcloth was waiting in the cross-country vehicle. We opened the door. Taking off his cap he indicated that we were ready to start. We looked for his face in vain in the rearview mirror. The barred gate opened to a push of a button; a hermetically sealed world opened up before us. Over the bell was sign: "Not to be used by prisoners."

There was a panelled building behind the double wire fence and guard towers. From the outside it could be an apartment house or workers' barracks, if there had not been bars on the windows and balconies.

"Do people often try to escape?"

"There was a case at the agricultural work site, but hardly from the prison building. In an extreme case the guards can use their weapons, but since I have been here, more than 10 years, they have not needed to."

The cell doors were open along the corridor; they were cleaning up. Hot water and swabs. In one area there were 10-15 iron beds, covered with coarse rugs folded double. After cleaning up, people read, write letters--wait for the start of the afternoon shift.

Every week 60-70 prisoners arrive. After the prescribed tests they go to a receiving cell. After a few days their final living and working sites are selected. Their monthly earnings--depending on assignment--vary between 2,000 and 2,5000 forints. During their years in prison they cannot have cash. Every week they can buy cigarettes and food in the canteen up to the sum defined in the regulations. This depends on their work and behavior.

The inhabitants of cell 24 stood up on our arrival and the one responsible for the cell reported. There were reproductions on the wall, flowers at the window and a television on the table.

"Is there television in every cell?"

"We have had one for two weeks. Only those can get them who have outstanding work records and keep exemplary order in their area. If we are negligent they take it away and another cell gets it."

There can be a higher price for neglecting responsibilities or for insubordination too--reprimand, forbidding visitations, reduction in wages, holding back packages. The most serious punishment is 10, 20 or 30 days in solitary.

The narrow cell is 4 meters long, its width hardly half that. A platform bed a span high is under the window, a little chair beside it bolted to the cement floor, a sink and WC.

J.G. had spend 2 days here.

"Why are you here?"

He backed against the wall.

"I made a sharp knife out of a metal sheet. They stole mine."

"Did you quarrel with someone?"

"I have a deal with my brother-in-law, I have to watch out for him."

"What's the deal?"

"We have everything in common, packages, cigarettes, soap, whatever we get. We defend each other."

"Do you fight?"

"No, we take care of it smooth or dirty. Smooth is a row where we use fists; dirty, everything goes--kicking, biting, whatever it takes."

"And if they notice?"

"They don't notice. The cell door is closed and, of course, there is a lookout."

He has been sentenced five times, this time for breaking in and stealing and for rowdiness. He has half a year to go. He is 25 years old, of which he has been free 19 years. He cannot say when he last saw his wife and two children.

But there are rewards for good behavior. Praise, visits out of sequence, money and material rewards, increasing the "outside eating allowance," possibly wiping out the remaining part of the sentence and--in exceptional cases--a few days leave.

"I spent 6 days at home at Christmas," said P.Z., the one-time producer cooperative president serving in the Bernatkut agricultural unit. "I never left the house. Not because I would have been ashamed before the village but because my family had missed me."

"Why were you sentenced?"

"For unfaithful management. They made it impossible, and I wanted the good of the cooperative. I did not take a penny from the common stock."

"What will you do after you get out?"

"Look, I am 55 years old. I graduated from agricultural college and the Marxist university, but probably my diploma will do me no good now. I will be a porter or unskilled worker...."

He was promoted after spending a few weeks in prison. He is chairman of the administrative committee of the independent organization of prisoners.

"For example, today we organized a book purchasing action. We also have singing, drawing and craft clubs. Every 2 weeks we have a popular science lecture, sometimes a music program, Saturdays and Sundays we have a soccer match and in bad weather a ping-pong match. We try to help if somebody wants to move to another cell, because others annoy him or proposition him...."

There were six of us in the club room. The deputy commander and corrections officer faded into the background. Through the holes in the black curtain the sun fell on the faces of the prisoners.

"Is this how you imagined prison would be?"

"One does not see this in the movies," answered a curly-headed young man. "I would not have believed that prisoners could have a say in guiding communal life."

"How does your day go?"

"The cooks get up at two in the morning, the duty officers at four. The regular get-up time is four-thirty. Then we wash up, clean, have breakfast and go to the work site. Afternoons, supper is at five; then we write letters, talk, watch television."

"Do the duty officers work too?"

"We serve here in the area. We guide the mess, check the cleanliness of the cells, report to the guard if we find anything out of order. Naturally we are placed in the common cell."

"What do the others say to this?"

"Sometimes they throw it up to us that we too wear only prisoner clothes, so we should not give orders. Sometimes those about to get out would send us to a warmer climate...."

"Can women and men prisoners meet? For example while doing work?"

"There can be no possibility of that. But since you mention it let me note that sexuality is a much smaller problem than you think outside. We have no data, but I know that the great majority of the prisoners have normal heterosexual feelings and can bear the loss of freedom without personality damage. The more serious case is those who have been raised in institutions since childhood and simply could not have learned the rules of establishing contact with the opposite sex. Emotional poverty leads many prisoners into homosexual relationships--since there is no other possibility. We try to turn them to the correct path with psychological tests, by talking to them."

At seven in the evening we returned to the prison office. The driver got out, took off his cap and said goodbye.

"We have worked overtime, we two," the captain says to him. "Don't worry about it, I will take care of getting you back to your area. Goodnight!"

Kalocsa Megye Prison

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Apr 83, Supplement pp 12-13

[Article by Antal]

[Text] There is no sign on the most finely wrought gate in Kalocsa which would indicate the purpose of the group of buildings. To whom would it speak?

Probably not to those inside. And those outside know without being told that right in the middle of their clean, busy town live some light-fingered, swindling, embezzling, robbing or murdering people--in total comfort. They are women prisoners.

This is how those outside see it. Heat, food, clean clothes, bedding and several thousand forints in wages guaranteed.

Those inside see only the bars. The walls. What must be done, and what can be done. Whether you like it or not. For example, you have to work. Everyone who can, who is capable of it. Refusing to work brings punishment. This year the clothing plant will be valued at 230 million forints. Those who are not clever enough at sewing assemble lighting tubes on the production line. If they have two left hands or are too old or have never worked they glue dossiers, package shoe-laces or do housework.

The women in Kaolcsa have been sentenced to prison or penitentiary; they are adults. There are not many empty places.... Those who cause trouble go to more severe institutions or into solitary. A platform bed, a WC and a water tap. One cannot lie down during the day. One can sit or walk. Three steps forward, three steps back. Or one to the side.

"Copper" has been punished again, 20 days solitary. She is 22 years old, a prisoner since 1977, with 8 months to go.

"Why are you being punished now?"

"Fighting. I told some whore to leave my skirt alone. That was it.... I ended up here. With a stool."

61 percent of the prisoners are under 35 years old, 28 percent between 18 and 25. The average age is younger all the time. 44 percent of the prisoners are in for a first offense; the rest are repeaters. Two, three, many times. The level of schooling is low, many are illiterate or just barely know how to read and write.

"The first nest of crime is lack of schooling. Here inside they can learn their letters, can finish general school. There is a library, there are clubs, one can study poetry or act in plays.... Anyone with the least inclination for normal life gets every help from the educators, all trained teachers. But many learn only from each other, and the end is recidivism...."

Colonel Mrs Mihaly Nagy has worked at many assignments in 32 years. To me she looks more like a school principle, council chairwoman or chief nurse than a prison commander.

"We cannot submit to this, that everything which can be learned here should be forgotten after they are free, that our work should be wasted. 75 percent of the prisoners are Gypsies; there is no branch of industry where they are hired in this ratio with success. When they step out of the gate, life just whirls them along. Even the best intended freed prisoner gets no farther than the the factory gate. For example, here is the case of A.V...."

She got 9 years and 9 months for manslaughter; she gets out in December this year. She was imprisoned, with a diploma as women's and men's tailor, after a gang fight--the fatal soda bottle was in her hand.

"In here I have been chief tailor for 8 years, I earned 4,000 forints. During leave I looked up the Nyiregyhaza dress factory, to go to work there in January. They said OK, but I would get only half as much money as the others. I have been sentenced one time...."

Long term prisoners go into a transition group before getting out. According to the regulations prisoners sentenced to penitentiary or prison who have served at least 5 years loss of freedom can be put in a transition group at most 2 years before being freed and must spend 6 months in a transition group, in the interest of helping them fit into society. They study civilian life anew, can go to a hairdresser with a teacher, shop in town in civilian clothes --so the change will be easier. With the exception of those with penitentiary sentences the prisoners can get 5 days rest per year; this can be extended by the commander as a reward. A leave which can be spent with the family also makes for an easier transition. Of course, only for those who can, who have ties with a family.

But there are those nobody wants. E. Cs. is serving a life term--she has served 10 years of it. Homicide for gain. She pleads with us.

"Take a picture of me, send it to my son, so he can see his mother. I send him all my money. He bought a motorcycle and learned a trade, became a technician. But I have not seen him once since."

We did not take the picture. The teachers had had contact with the boy earlier. He did not want to know about his mother.

The shift was changing. It was two in the afternoon. Wash hands, eat, take medicine, go for a walk. The students go to study, for the rest it is time to change bedding; the stewards rush to the shop to buy "outside eating certificates." The others can read, do handwork, talk, until supper. Lights out at eight. There is a cell where a television stands on the table for 2 weeks--as a reward for discipline and cleanliness.

Mrs Ferenc Ven, chief of the education service, said: "Being locked up is enough punishment. We are striving for reform, so that the prisoner can get herself accepted in the life outside. The rest depends on her...."

From a Psychologist's Notebook

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Apr 83, Supplement p 13

[Excerpt from a journal of Dr Eva Menning]

[Text] The "remedial education" group is the great discovery of the penal system, to adapt the "therapy group," actually a procedure of the most modern sociotherapy, to prison conditions in the interest of molding the personality....

According to our hypothesis the prison, as a special environment having an effect on the personality of the afflicted, is responsible to a crucial degree for the failure of education, for violations of discipline, for the extraordinary events and even for crimes committed in the prison. This is especially applicable to penitentiary conditions.

Dealing with prisoners suffering from personality disorders and pathological psychological states is an agreeable task, because their equilibrium within the prison is a socially uncontrolled "pathological equilibrium" which develops according to its own laws in an informal micro-environment, forced by a brutal aggression, which comes into being in connection with a role forced upon them in a coercive community involving psychic decompensation since they cannot identify with it. In this state psychological intervention represents psychological first aid, by virtue of which the prisoner can successfully detach from fellow prisoners representing the earlier subculture and life style, become inclined to re-evaluate his behavior and cooperate sincerely with the therapy work group....

The reform of the penal system makes the guard service responsible for, among other things, the success of the education and consciousness raising program. Their service activity becomes a good bit more complicated. In the course of further training they must master basic psychological and pedagogical information....

Their activity should be re-evaluated in this sense, because their service superiors do this too. They must give up their earlier silence and anonymity and must base their reputation not only on their determination but also on other values of the personality (justice and humanity). The person of the security guard thus becomes an educational factor of fundamental significance....

We must re-examine our prejudices and overcome our inhibitions and anxieties lest we remove the prisoners far from us and thus the task as well. In itself this will be frustrating and awaken a guilty conscience, because in the depths of his soul every worker in the penal system knows that he is serving in the interest of society; he exists for the prisoners, and not vice versa.

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REPORT ON PROVINCIAL AKTIV MEETINGS

Advisory Session Held

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 13 Apr 83 pp 1,2

/Article by md: "What We Economize Is of Top Value"

/Text/ An advisory session of the province's party and economic aktiv was held in Elblag yesterday. It was chaired by First Secretary of PZPR Provincial Committee Jerzy Popiolek and was devoted to activities conducive to the implementation of the government's savings and anti-inflation programs. The session was attended by Provincial Committee members, secretaries of urban, urban-gmina, gmina, and plant party echelons, as well as by secretaries of larger POP's /basic party organizations/, directors and chairmen of the province's leading production establishments, chairmen of employee and plant councils and representatives of scientific and technical associations. The participants included PZPR CC member Stefan Walter employed in the Zamech /Gen Swierczewski Mechanical Plants/ in Elblag, Central Committee representatives Krzysztof Sobczak and Kaizmierz Wierzbicki, vice minister of mining and power industry Ryszard Buchowiecki, secretary of ZSL /United Peasant Party/ provincial committee Ryszard Wodzieslawski, chairman of PRON provincial council Ryszard Sokolnicki, chairman of WRN /Provincial People's Council/ Ryszard Swiecicki, and Elblag Governor Col Ryszard Urlinski.

For Elblag Province, yesterday's session marked the beginning of a broad campaign targeted on curbing inflationary developments and instilling an all-pervading commitment to economize on all resources which are basic to production growth and societal affluence.

The first speaker, PZPR Provincial Committee Secretary Tadeusz Osko, affirmed that the party's priority task at this time is to produce, as rapidly as possible, widespread understanding of the premises and objectives of anti inflationary measures being applied. Their implementation will prevent further monetary and market imbalances as well as uncontrolled price increases and decline in real wages. These measures are intended for the protection of society, rather than directed against it.

There are now two options for the economy of our country: to enter either a track leading to gradual improvement or another, leading to further deterioration of the market situation. Everything must be done to exploit

the first option to the fullest extent possible. The anti-inflation and savings programs, developed by the government at the urging of the party, are geared towards that goal. They are directed, for the most part, to enterprises, the primary units of the national economy, in which inflationary risks are generated. They are at their worst in those enterprises which operate at high cost, and attempt to transfer the burden of their poor management to customers by raising prices, rather than reducing their costs of production. In order to combat these threats effectively, it is necessary for workforces and management in individual enterprises to understand and accept the indispensable measures.

The thrust of the anti-inflationary and savings measures should center on those factors of production which represent the highest costs: raw materials, energy, fuel, product quality and rates of utilization of fixed assets, work time, and human potential. In all of these categories, there are considerable reserves in the economy of Elblag province. Measures taken to economize and discipline the economy must include the manufacturing plants plus the entire service sector: city and interurban transit, communications, commerce, services, urban utilities systems, health care, and administration offices at all levels.

The anti-inflation and savings programs will be among the principal lines of effort of the entire party organization of Elblag Province. The first stage of these efforts will be evaluated by the PZPR Provincial Committee executive board in June, and proper conclusions will be drawn.

Next, an evaluation of Elblag Province's economic developments and tasks intended to curb inflationary trends, promote economizing and reduce the costs of production was presented by Vice Governor Jozef Sowa. He noted that the province's industry completed the past year with 4.5 percent greater output than that achieved in 1981. The share of exports was maintained on 1976-80 levels, with a relatively high proportion of goods channeled to the domestic consumer market. Adverse trends did occur, however, including no improvement in management efficiency, trends to realize profit by increasing prices of products and services, and substantially quicker increases in wages than in labor productivity. The 1982 index of utilization of work stations in Elblag Province was barely 81 percent, and shift rate was about 1.4. Many machines and, some costly, pieces of equipment were evidently underused. Stocks increased by 18 percent. Quality of production clearly deteriorated in a number of enterprises. Despite these and other adverse developments, industrial establishments in Elblag Province realized total profits of more than 4.5 billion zlotys, nearly 2.5-fold higher than planned, while production increased by only 4.5 percent. As against 1981, employment dropped 5.5 percent, while emoluments together with compensations rose 42 percent. Concurrently, off-time increased, additionally complicating the picture. Similar trends were noted in construction which, moreover, failed to execute its planned tasks in full. Farming, on the other hand, has posted decent results.

At the start of the discussion, Zamech director Kazimierz Pniewski reported on successful financial and production results of the province's largest plan

for the past year. The balance sheet for the first quarter of 1983 is also favorable. Notable adverse developments include increasing employment shortage, difficulties in raw materials, growing absenteeism and losses due to poor workmanship. Furthermore, the metallurgical sector has announced that no orders for materials should be placed for the last quarter of 1983, for they will remain unfilled because of lack of capacity. In light of this fact, a comprehensive economizing program, now being developed by Zamech, takes on added importance.

Jan Plasun, director of Nogat Combined State Farms affirmed that economizing became a vital necessity at this time. Losses in farming--in crops, transport, processing, and storage--reportedly reach 30 percent. They represent reserves that must be gradually channeled the right way. A portion of these losses was incurred by state farms. The reform, in the course of implementation since 1982, offers prospects for improved management. At the Nogat farms, the reform provoked at the outset downright enthusiastic involvement of the workforce. That involvement is considerably lesser now. Main thrust of the economizing campaign should be directed at energy resources, rational utilization of the means of production, and proper allocation of feed and replacement parts. Production engineering in the milk cycle should also be improved.

Chairman of workers' council at the Great Proletariat Memorial Plant Jerzy Voloncewicz pointed out that the machinery of reform lacked factors conducive to improvement in design and production engineering techniques. Chairman of PRON provincial council Ryszard Sokolnicki stated that PRON's provincial congress, held a week before, adopted a final resolution emphasizing the need for improved collection of recyclable materials and for prevention of waste (e.g., in construction industry), regarding these as rudimentary economy measures that any person can apply.

Chairman of workers' council in the Kwidzyn Celuloza Plant Jerzy Bartnicki reported on his plant's economizing and anti-inflation measures taken at Elblag Province's youngest industrial establishment. He added that many of the giant plant's employees had been on training assignments in the West and were aware of how those countries, more affluent than Poland, after all, handle their employment reducing it to an indispensable minimum, and how they utilize their labor time and raw and intermediate resources.

Vice minister Ryszard Buchowiecki termed the anti-inflation and economy measures a campaign without precedent in our country. We must be victorious in this campaign if we do not want to slide into profounder crisis. Of top value, he said, is the energy that we can save.

Jerzy Prusiecki summed up the meeting. In reference to frequently heard recent comments on the lack of incentives and motivation for better and more economical performance, he said it was impossible to give bonuses for each brick or piece of sheet metal saved. Instead, we must consolidate our awareness of the sum total of economizing actions as benefitting the country, therefore benefitting everyone of us. A common striving and ambition to all should be to put the economy, finally, on a healthy base.

Aktiv Workers' Opinions on Payments

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 14 Apr 83 pp 1,2

/Article by Adam Kilian: "Workers' Opinions. Pay for Specific Work"/

/Text/ The Warsaw workers' aktiv meeting was attended by Jan Taterczynski, a fitter in the PC, or electrolysis, department of Rokita Nadodrze Organic Industry Works in Brzeg, Dolny. Most important, he says, is that now we do not forget about the conclusions of the meeting.

Taterczynski has been working for Rokita for 10 years. He moved from Wroclaw to Brzeg Dolny because he was able to obtain an apartment earlier there. He works in a 17-man crew monitoring the operation of chlorine manufacturing appliances. The volume of production depends substantially of the fitters-repairmen. After all, a slight drop in the quality of salt or some impurities can stop the electrolyzers at any time. Consumption of basic raw materials and, more important, electrical energy, also depends on the repairmen. According to Taterczynski, a poorly adjusted anode can waste many kilowatts.

In view of this thorough and productive performance should be fostered by an incentives system. Such is not the case, however, for basic pay wage is not high. Not counting compensation payments, a repairer earns about 7,000 zlotys plus a bonus of up to 33 percent. The catch, however, is that bonuses are in many cases awarded in equal amounts or, even more frequently, "by name" rather than for specific performance on the job. Add that this job is difficult and demanding involving contact with mercury, lye, graphite and dirt. The system for emoluments must be modified so that it more precisely reflects each employee's contribution to economic financial effects of each department and the plant.

Improvement in what is termed interpersonal relations is likewise not without importance, according to Taterczynski, although some managers tend to ignore such issues. But not every problem can be resolved with money. The atmosphere in the work place and mutual understanding are frequently more important than extra payments of 500 zlotys. Master foremen and department chiefs should never forget this.

Taterczynski did not want to comment on economy measures in his individual work station and in the plant as a whole. He had often spoken out about such topics, and others blamed him for that on each occasion.

Sure, he says, more economical performance is possible in every work station in our plant. In my department, much depends on whether those who service the machines use proper dosages and provide thorough maintenance. Such things are, however, not always done the way they ought to be. The wage system should therefore be geared to individuals so as to simply force them into good workmanship.

Taterczynski's department is having some difficulties, e.g., with replacement parts, which forces the men into salvaging frames, casings, charge boxes and shackles from an old bay now being dismantled. They all can be utilized, rather summarily scrapped. The repairmen in Taterczynski's department offered to do the dismantling on their own during the weekends, on off-time, but the plant management decided to contract the job to an outside firm. Dismantling on their own, they would have been able to salvage many more parts and materials. Now it will be necessary to pay much more for the job, as if the management did not care about the cost.

The follow up on this issue, Taterczynski adds, unused bays and halls can be converted for storage, so that structural elements, packaging and even raw materials, now lying out in the open, could be warehoused in them. There is no need to rush into building umbrella roofs or storage sites, not need to spend money. Instead, it is enough for some people to get out from behind their desks, take a stroll in the plant, peek in here and there, for all those much-discussed economies to become completely obvious.

If we improve efficiency, more money will remain for bonuses, wage increases, awards, and social funds, including partial reimbursement for vacation. This year, Taterczynski has not tried to arrange for a vacation trip. He cannot afford it, he says. He would have to pay 3,500 zlotys per person to take his wife and two kids for two weeks. However, if his plant reimbursed a larger portion, he would certainly opt for a vacation.

Taterczynski is enraged by profiteers' incomes. Profiteering will flourish, he says, until production has increased. Nothing can be done about it. A profiteer makes so much money that he can afford to pay even a steep fine. He will subsequently factor the fine into the price of this product, anyway. His customers will end up repaying the fine to him. The most effective method to overcome profiteering, according to Taterczynski, is to increase output.

The private sector must be monitored more vigilantly. Rather than eradicating it, a more effective tax system should be applied, and more attention should be paid to pricing and quality of private businessmen's products. Likewise in the socialized sector, more attention should be paid to prices. Manufacturers must not channel their organizational ineptness, defective production and ordinary waste into their prices and costs.

Taterczynski says that he can no longer listen to more talk about inflation. Everyone comes up with advice, but hardly anyone is thinking about reducing the extent of "production of money." Officials just keep sitting in factory administrative offices and pick up their paychecks on the first of each month. The same applies to all those superbly paid employees of various institutions, design offices, and new associations established to replace the old. It is often said that inflation can be alleviated by taxation, but this is just one of many, and perhaps not the best, method. Of course, taxes should be imposed on those people whose incomes are the highest, so that the effects of the crisis are uniformly distributed. But taxes must not be imposed on those working on production lines, especially in the piecework system. Otherwise, as the saying goes, the baby will be tossed out with the bath water.

Lomza Province Aktiv Meeting

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 16-17 Apr 83 pp 1,2

/Article by W. Klosinski: "Our Great Achievements Must Start Yielding Fruit Again"/

/Text/ A session of the province's workers' aktiv was held on 15 April in Lomza. Chaired by PZPR Provincial Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Michaluk, the session was attended by Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Stanislaw Zieba, chief of Central Committee Socio-Occupational Division Stanislaw Gabrielski, ZSL provincial committee chairman Czeslaw Gartych, SD provincial committee president Marian Mieszkowski, Governor Jerzy Zientara and KOK plenipotentiary Col Stefan Kolasa.

The country's and the province's socioeconomic situation was described in a speech of Provincial Committee Secretary Mieczyslaw Brzezicki. He said that the solutions and legislative provisions of the economic reform reached managerial personnel in enterprises, but they failed to reach workforces in the form of clear and understandably outlined wage and incentive systems. Thus, there exists an urgent need to continue training and information on the reform, paralleled by work to develop such systems. This combination of theoretical principles with ongoing practical applications in work establishments will produce understanding of the intent of the reform and will result in greater productivity, economy, efficiency and improved emoluments to employees.

The provincial committee along with basic-level party echelons strive to institute these principles more effectively. Each plant should begin its own major campaign for enhancement of respect and recognition for honest, dependable work and for persons who properly carry out their tasks. Incentives promoting moral and material interest in work should be fostered.

Lomza Province has potential for establishing trade unions in 245 plants. Until now, 79 union organizations have been registered, and 83 filed motions await registration. More than 9,000 persons have joined the trade unions.

There is a notable decline in the concern for financial and living-standard interests of workforces. These matters should receive more attention from the trade unions whose subunits play a major role in employee communities.

A good reform cannot be implemented from behind an office desk, comrade Brzezicki affirmed, as did many other speakers. Workforce self-government is an important component of management. It is in operation in 48 plants and enterprises. A need for more vigorous activity of workforces in PRON was also emphasized.

Vice Governor Stanislaw Ciupa stated in his report that the principal precondition for fulfillment of the 1983-85 plan was the surmounting of a barrier in raw and intermediate materials. Economical handling of available

reserves of such materials is becoming a vital necessity. Year after year, Lomza Province records major losses in agriculture and farm- and food-processing. Steps must be taken to reduce losses in crops, transport, storage and sales of farm produce. Utilization of recyclables and waste requires an urgent solution. The measures to be instituted must win total support of society.

Each enterprise has some potential for improving efficiency in its handling of raw and intermediate materials. Early examples were provided in the course of development of programs for economizing. The consumption of materials in glucose production processes was reduced by 5.5 million zlotys at the Food Industry Enterprise. The Narew Cotton Industry Plant in Lomza is planning for reducing the use of dyes and chemical agents by 31 million zlotys, replacement parts by 11 million zlotys, and energy and fuel by 22 million zlotys. The plant also started a modernizing venture intended to recover heat from production effluents, which will result in conventional-fuel equivalent savings of 2,800 tons of coal. Similar results are expected at Zambrow Cotton Industry Plant and Chipboard Plant in Grajewo.

The inventors' and innovators' movement has a major obligation toward the economizing process. A substantial decline in this movement was noted in this movement for the past two years. More than 500 innovative improvement suggestions were filed annually in 1977-80, while in 1981-82, the figure dropped to 300.

Many speakers took a position on anti-inflation program offered for public debate, regarding it as one of several elements leading to the balancing of national economy, especially its monetary-market situation. Consistency in implementation of the principles of economic reform was repeatedly emphasized. The process requires rigorous exactness and rigid application of the regulations. Changes in the regulations, it was asserted, produce numerous adverse results.

Concluding the debate, Minister Stanislaw Zieba said that the foundations for normalization of the situation had been laid. The time has come to extend them to every work station. He also discussed Lomza Province's situation against the background of the national outlook. Housing construction is in better shape, but the foot sector, fodder production in particular, and the light industry are decided below the national level. Views holding that this is due to shortages of labor are unacceptable, for employment is by no means at a low level in the province. Much depends on labor productivity, on organization of work and on the overcoming of supply barriers.

According to S. Zieba, advances in the food industry will be achieved by interlinking processing plants with agricultural producers by means of contract agreements and indispensable capital goods. Increased coordination is also needed in transportation.

We have shared expectations, the minister of agriculture said, that progress will be made in economizing in all areas of socioeconomic life, including the

household. Even now, there are frequent instances of bread and cereal products being used as fodder in the cities, a glaring example of waste.

Minister Zieba also emphasized the need for development of an atmosphere of consensus, calm, and dedication to work. There is much to be done in this area by PRON units, trade unions, and employee self-government.

During a recess in the debate, PZPR Provincial Committee leadership accepted motions from conference participants. Sixteen persons made 14 motions, including two motions concerning personal issues. Comrade Wlodzimierz Michaluk has assured that all the reported problems will be reviewed by appropriate provincial units, and those who made the motions will be notified about their disposition.

Gdansk Province Aktiv Meeting

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 16-17 Apr 83 pp 1,2

/Article by K.K.: "Economizing Is the Cure For Crisis"/

/Text/ Last Friday's Gdansk Province socioeconomic aktiv meeting was an important component in the plan of political and organizational measures geared towards the implementation of the governmental anti-inflation and economizing programs. The meeting was chaired by deputy Politburo member, PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Bejger. Attending by invitation were deputy chief of Central Committee Economic Division Ryszard Hutowski and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers' Planning Commission Stanislaw Dlugosz.

Principal directions for action, economy measures and antiinflation tasks were presented by Governor Brig Gen Mieczyslaw Cygan. Here are the main points of his speech.

During the past 15 months, we have halted downward trends in the Gdansk area economy, and we can already claim that upward trends are consolidating in many spheres.

Farming operated in very difficult conditions throughout 1982, but even so, some favorable developments were noted. There is a slow but consistent improvement in the supply of capital goods, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed. Favorable trends in the volume and overall composition of agricultural production are becoming solid.

More complex phenomena manifested themselves in the monetary-market situation. Following 1981, we were left with a totally disorganized market and an inflationary gap of 16 billion zlotys. During the second and third quarter the populations spending tended to favorably balance out with incomes.

This situation changed adversely in the fourth quarter, however, when personal incomes exceeded expenditures. We have been unable to curb this trend even now, which spells danger of growing inflation and market disruption. We must fight this trend, primarily in those enterprises whose production is expensive, and who, through their undiminished costs frequently, via prices, burden society at large with the results of their own mismanagement.

There is no formula for instantaneous overcoming of the crisis and inflation. Still, rather than inertia, this fact should promote a drive for action as energetic as possible. We must all operate concurrently along three lines: The first is to improve utilization of all available resources: raw materials, intermediate materials, fixed assets, and human labor. We must produce more out of what we have.

The second is to modify the economic structure by channeling resources to the most productive area, especially to those whose output is marketable.

Third, we must reduce unit costs and correlate wages with labor productivity.

These three principal directions represent the formula for improvement in economic efficiency. Its most complete composite measure is labor productivity, currently nearly 20 percent lower than it was in 1980 in our province. The enterprises are tasked with restoring that level in labor productivity, while regarding a 20 percent increase in labor productivity as their minimum assignment by 1985.

Let me point out that enormous reserves can be extracted by proper handling of work time. In material production last year, off-time in Gdansk Province was more than 59 million hours, which is equivalent to average annual employment of 30,000 persons. Calculated per worker employed, time losses averaged 224 hours a year. This means that, aside from annual and prerequested medical leave, each worker was absent from work for over one month. Thus, a 10 percent reduction of these losses is equivalent to hiring 3,000 employees.

There is a similar situation in the use of energy, fuels, and materials. The indicators are alarming. We use 2-2.5 as much of all material components as do more affluent countries.

A mere 10-percent reduction in the consumption of bulk materials yields annual savings of 800 million zlotys. This is a half of last year's workforce share in profits in all Gdansk Province enterprises combined.

Considerable potential for economizing on materials are available in industrial production where material costs account for 65 percent of the cost of production, an excessive percentage. Note that a 5-percent reduction in the province's materials-intensiveness would permit a 6 billion zloty drop in the cost of materials annually.

A similar reduction of use of materials in construction would result in 1 billion zlotys annual savings on the cost of materials.

Another self-evident example of reserves in our economy is the potential for quality improvement. Last year, the percentage of industrial output accorded quality mark labels declined from 18.5 percent to 10.6 percent, and the share of grade I products in graded sales dropped from 82.0 percent to 75.6 percent. Our slogan for these days should be: "We are too poor to afford poor production."

Subsequently, the Gdansk Governor outlined the tasks in production and economizing for selected economic sectors of the province.

In industry, a 15-percent increase in sold production is assumed for the 3-year period, with a higher rate of growth accepted for consumer market production and exports (by 20 percent). These assumptions should prove realistic, so much the more, since many enterprises have accepted these growth rates in their plans.

These tasks will be accomplished with concurrent reduction in costs. It is possible to lower production materials-intensiveness by 5.7-6.3 percent, while reducing energy-intensiveness in industrial production 7.5 percent to 8.8 percent. Production growth will be decisively affected by increases in labor productivity, expected to reach 19 percent to 20 percent.

The governor discussed the tasks in labor productivity enhancement and economizing in specific economic branches, services, and scientific-technical support base.

He concluded his report with the following statement:

These tasks require an efficiently organized system for implementation and monitoring. We cannot allow them to become empty words. We have to incorporate basic tenets of good management--economizing and efficient use of available resources--permanently into our daily living. Special responsibilities rest on state administration at provincial and local levels, including:

first, thorough in-depth analysis of potential for achieving higher results in the area's socioeconomic development, concurrent with improved utilization of resources,

second, the development of realistic anti-inflation and economizing programs for local management of economic units, integrated with the area plan of socioeconomic development,

third, the establishment of an effective system of supervision and monitoring of the implementation of adopted programs.

Those participating in the discussion over the presented program included: NOT Main Technical Organization/ provincial council chairman Tadeusz

Jednorol, WPHW /Provincial Enterprise For Internal Trade/ PZPR plant committee First Secretary Piotr Konkol, director of Combined Construction Plants in Gdynia Andrzej Ubertowski, Tadeusz Ligeza, director, provincial department of NBP /National Polish Bank/, Lech Bednarski, provincial national council chairman, Andrzej Ambrozkiwicz, Transbud Transport-Equipment Enterprise for Construction, Tadeusz Olszewski, PZPR Plant Committee first secretary, WPK /Provincial Transit Enterprise/, Stanislaw Dlugosz, vice chairman, Planning Commission, and Zbigniew Kwiatkowski, deputy director, GPIS. The participants reported on the steps taken by work establishments to institute antiinflation and economizing programs and pointed out the many dangers these ventures might run into.

Stanislaw Bejger stated in conclusion of the meeting that the province's program is aimed at the restoration of economic equilibrium and at assuring possibilities for further development. Slogans and appeals are not enough. Factors of proper organization and monitoring will be of particular importance for implementation of the decisions.

8795

CSO: 2600/791

PROVINCIAL AKTIV ACTIVITIES NOTED

Aktiv Voices Who Make Decisions

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Jurkiewicz: "The Voice of Those Who Decide: Following the National Conference of the Worker Aktiv"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The marathon of public consultation on the plan for determining the parameters and selecting the instruments to surmount the crisis is continuing. This time it was a consultation by party and government leadership, conducted in direct contact, in lively hours-long talks, with workers represented by activists of basic PZPR organizations, plant trade unions, self-governments and individuals lacking any organizational affiliation as well. Whoever has, like this reporter, observed this conference, listened to this talk and traced its various behind-the-stage continuations, could have no doubts as to the identity of those who at present actually decide in our country on the directions and ways of surmounting the crisis, those who hold in their hands the chance of leading socialist Poland back onto the broad main road of development, those who bear genuine responsibility here pay most for the cost of the entire undertaking./

Even Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, the party's first secretary and the premier, thought it necessary to begin his speech by voicing the proviso that he is taking part in a discussion and that its summation will still involve a long process crowned by the sovereign decision of the Parliament. Even ministers besieged by questioners while on duty at consultation stations did not "provide clarifications" in response to thousands of questions, proposals, comments and reservations, and instead they engaged in polemics, presented their rationales, revealed the behind-the-stage working of the machinery of government. And Kazimierz Barcikowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, declared plainly in the introductory report that the working class which has created this state is fully and justly entitled to demand of the state effectiveness and the assurance of socialist justice.

I dwelled on the atmosphere and style in which this consultation was held, because I believe that its spirit was even more important than its substance. Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "Governing is thus made more difficult, but the party, the people's authorities, adopted the principle that fundamental economic goals will be presented to the society for public discussion." The assembled workers, participating in the discussion and voicing their postulates and

opinions, came to Warsaw without doubting this basic principle. This attitude was perhaps best expressed by Ireneusz Wapner, a trade-union activist at the CEGIELSKI Locomotive and Rolling Stock Works [WZPM], who declared: "We constitute a working class that is conscious of its might and responsibility for not only itself but those who do not produce, either because they are still preparing for this role, representing our future, or because they have worked for us all their life and represent our living tradition. And since I represent the Poznan trade unionists, I wish to add that this excellent speech provides, as it were, the entire scenario of the conference, a reflection of the collective thinking of all those present in this auditorium, whose general outline greatly transcends the framework of the documents of the three-year plan."

"I can't, much as I would like to, dwell longer on this point because my notebook lists 26 other equally worthy votes for presentation, and even so I'll be unable to cope with presenting them all. So I'll try to summarize their highlights. First, there is the strong and resolute vote in favor of both the ideas and the working premises for directing the operation of rescue from the crisis. Specifically, there is first of all the strong 'yes' vote in favor of the incredibly dramatic efforts by which the leadership has halted the economy's decline last year and broken the back of the domestic and foreign political enmity which had attempted to ruin socialist Poland." This was said very picturesquely by Marcin Witek of the A. Warski Shipyard in Szczecin, stressing that now, a year later, although severe problems are not lacking, the economy is entering upon a normal rhythm of production, the feeling of faith in our own strength is returning, the ability of workforces to cope on their own with management barriers is growing, and the Parliament's decisions to repair the fabric of the Republic--inclusive of the work on the National Social Economic Plan (NPSG) and complementing programs--are meeting with growing though still variously reserved support from the society.

/This is the second point: in principle, "yes" to the conservation and anti-inflation programs, to which though are appended all sorts of proposals for changes, modification of revisions, and shifts, as well as... two heavy sighs./ One sigh is because the cost is so high, that the crisis demands so many sacrifices, that the means of rescue involve the regression of so many social accomplishments and complicate life so much. The second sigh, because people are still apprehensive that these austerity measures might be in vain, considering that innovations are meeting with such bureaucratic delays and resistance. The third "yes" heard by the government, a "yes" which was besides very ardently and challengingly formulated, was meant for the reform in general and for its encouragement of self-government in particular. Kazimierz Drozdziel of the Paris Commune Shipyard even declared: "At the top nearly everything has already been done as regards documents, decisions, guideposts for the application of the reform. Now at the grassroots level, among the workforces, something also has to be done in order to make the reform actual. But in the middle, between the central authorities and the workers, the administration is unconvinced about the reform, fears it and is unwilling to promote it. This is the reason for the slow implementation of the reform, for its bogging down in bureaucratic declarations, and for the unexpected results it sometimes produces."

/And what about "no" votes? Above all, A loud, universal and angry "no" was declared to all that does not equitably distribute the burden of surmounting the crisis, to all that enables wheelers and dealers and speculators to wax fat at the expense of the toil of workers, to all that enables some to amass fortunes through social injustice. And that "no" was as a rule accompanied by the demand

that the leadership regard the solution of this problem as a condition for gaining the trust of workers, as a matter of support and implementation of the entire plan by those who are decisive to its success./

A great choral "no" was also declared to the situation in the administration from top to the very bottom, that is, to the notorious "proliferation" of officialdom which not only costs a huge fortune but smothers in red tape and paperwork the barely emerging initiatives, good management and advances in production. And again it was demanded that the central authorities should provide an iron economic mechanism (and not an official directive) enforcing the streamlining of employment, reducing to a minimum unproductive jobs and penalizing plants financially for the proliferation of official activities--and hence also of official posts.

A great many other nays--colored by the needs of workers--were said: to certain proposals in programs, to specific ideas on the price system, to the generalized formulation of such important anti-inflation solutions as wage controls (a systemic draft is lacking) or taxation principles (for the present, only employees of the socialized sector are supervised in this respect, while others can wait at least until 1985), and finally to the handling of social services. There were many such objections, which space does not permit even to list, but they were expressed in such constructive, precise and economically mature manner. Because--as T. Kurnatowski of the Bydgoszcz Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant declared--it will be the workers anyway who will pay for the cost of restoring the health of the Republic. This is the inescapable truth. And hence decisions in Poland should be taken on the basis of worker consciousness and have to be accounted for before workers.

Suwalki Province Aktiv Meeting

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by J. Marks: "Conservation is the Behest of the Moment: Aktiv Conference in Suwalki"]

[Text] Public debate on programs for conservation and counter-acting inflation is continuing at work establishments and in discrete communities of Suwalki Province. This was the topic, too, of yesterday's conference of the party-economic aktiv of the production enterprises and other organizations on whose performance depend, among others, the living standards of the region's inhabitants./ [printed in boldface]

The meeting of workers was attended by representatives of the province authorities, including Waldemar Berdys, first secretary of the Province PZPR Committee, and Kazimierz Jablonski, province governor. Also present was Krzysztof Kuczynski, deputy minister of Metallurgy and Machine Building Industry.

The discussion was inaugurated by Wojciech Szczepkowski, secretary of the Province PZPR Committee. He briefed those present about the economic performance of the province in 1982 and in the first quarter of this year. Assessing the introduction of the economic reform, the speaker drew attention to the gradual changes occurring in the mentality of the management and workforces of labor establishments. Waiting for directives is now more and more often supplanted with independent decisionmaking. Despite the new autonomy of the enterprises and

the restructuring of the financial and price systems, the enterprises show as yet little interest in long-range undertakings. For too often financial performance, that main criterion of economic performance, is colored by unjustified production costs and hence also by unjustified price increases. Profit-augmenting factors should be sought elsewhere, chiefly in efficient management. But a special role should fall to the lot of worker self-governments. There is a disturbing custom, particularly in the countryside, which could be defined by one word: "Gimme." This custom, which reflects narrowly conceived parochial interests, conflicts with general social aims. After all, the possibilities for, e.g. producing building materials from local raw materials still are not being utilized.

At production plants the increase in labor productivity along with the streamlining of employment policies is becoming an urgent need. Personnel turnover should be restricted: for the province as a whole it reached 24 percent last year.

The proper utilization of manpower resources is linked to organization of labor. The struggle against waste of raw and other materials and to improve the quality of the products manufactured still remains a topical obligation. This also concerns agriculture and the principal subsectors of the province's economy as well as problems of the storage of agricultural products. As many allies as possible should be won over to accomplishing these tasks. For the crisis cannot be waited out with folded hands. It can be surmounted only through well-planned and active work at every workstation.

The speech by the Central Committee secretary, which illustrated with specific examples negative and even pathological aspects of the economic reality, was intended to prompt businesslike discussion among the conference participants and to elicit answers to the question of what should be done and where can unexploited potential be found. These intentions were accomplished only partially. Partially, because some discussants confined themselves to voicing complaints and gripes and reporting irrelevant production indicators.

The application of the new economic system to state farms was discussed by Michal Markiewicz, director of the association. He stated that the only way of improving the situation lies in conservation and reduction of production cost. This concerns genuine conservation rather than such decisions as applying only 100 kg of nitrogen-potassium-phosphorus fertilizers per hectare instead of 300. Instead, these fertilizers could be supplanted with manure and compost, while feeds could be replaced with the farm's own fodder. There is also great potential in crop rotation, pasturing of cattle and even in such a seemingly simple activity as clearing a field of stones. The implementation of the resolutions of the joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee as well as of government programs will be feasible and effective if the workforces are conscious that this concerns us all. For this reason, too, such great importance is attached on state farms to training.

In his turn, a representative of the Mazovian Industrial Tobacco Plant in Augustow rightly observed that conservation programs cannot be of the ad hoc and occasional kind. Concern for machinery, raw materials and work time should be an everyday practice. Those who act accordingly must, however, have a clearly defined goal. This is related to properly determined incentive systems.

A plant's future and specifically its development prospects should also be borne in mind. There is a limit to the increase in labor productivity. A worn machinery pool, for example, represents such a limit.

The speech by Jozef Godula, farmer from Mikolajki Gmina, met with loud applause. In simple and sensible language he spoke of the problems of his community. The proverbial plowshares and pitching forks also were mentioned: without these seemingly simple implements there will be no increase in the grain harvest. The speaker pointed to the unutilized army of agricultural technicians and engineers which, instead of serving as advisers to farmers and spending most of their time with them in the field, generally push papers around in offices.

Ireneusz Szczepkowski, a department director at the National Bank of Poland [NBP], gave assurances that loans will be granted to the enterprises providing a guarantee of effective increase in their production. Further, he criticized those establishments which allot for distribution the greater part of their budget surpluses.

A position on some of the problems raised was also taken by a guest at the conference, the Deputy Minister of Metallurgy and Machine Building Industry. But while the audience could understand appeals for adaptation to existing conditions and needs, it responded with some disapproval (catcalls in the auditorium) to the speaker's explanations regarding the production of plowshares. To be sure, some figures running into millions were cited, but this turned out to be an insufficient answer to the questions of farmers from Mikolajki Gmina, and from other gminas for that matter, too.

Poznan Aktiv Meeting

Poznan GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI in Polish 19 Apr 83 pp 1,3

[Article by (emo): "From Deliberations of the Aktiv of the United Peasant Party in Poznan Province: Live More Economically, Work More Productively"]

[Text] (Own information.) The government anti-inflation and conservation program was the principal topic of discussion of the political-economic aktiv of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] in Poznan Province. During yesterday's conference in the Poznan Auditorium of the ZSL Province Committee this Program was discussed by Professor Doctor Habilitatus Eugeniusz Zgorzelak, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers, who presented a general outline of the current state of our economy and the tasks for 1983-1985 and even, in some indicators, through 1990. The negative balance of foreign trade, chiefly in the dollar zone, is a considerable burden on our economic life. Despite a substantial improvement in this respect compared with 1981, when it had amounted to US\$1.8 billion and even though this year it will diminish to US\$600 million, it still will not be possible to achieve an equilibrium in this respect. In 1985 our negative balance in the dollar zone will amount to US\$400 million.

An even heavier burden is the repayment of the existing indebtedness which reaches US\$27 billion, with the payments due this year amounting to nearly one-half of that sum. The interest due this year alone totals US\$3.7 billion. The recurrent negotiations with creditors--foreign banks--alleviate only periodically the difficult financial situation of Poland on the international arena. Our indebtedness to socialist countries, especially to the Soviet Union, also is increasing.

The government program and planned conservation measures are intended to improve the effectiveness of our economy, particularly in industry, construction and agriculture. Ways of accomplishing this were extensively discussed at the conference, on pointing to the need to augment conservation in non-agricultural sub-sectors of the national economy and give priority to the needs of agriculture so as to reduce grain and fodder imports by applying, among other things, material incentives. E. Gorzelak answered the questions and cleared up the doubts of the discussants.

Tadeusz Zajac, the chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, discussed the course of the gmina congresses of the ZSL so far in Poznan Province and briefed those present about the preparations for celebrating the People's Holiday [1 May].

Aktiv Meeting Concerning Light Industry

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 20 Apr 83 pp 1,3

[Article by (Cz. Z.): "Fill Programs With Effective and Economical Work: Conference of Light Industry Aktiv"]

[Text] Yesterday's conference of light industry aktiv, held in Lodz, dealt with defining more precisely the tasks of that industry in implementing the anti-inflationary and conservation programs of the government. The conference participants included plant directors and representatives of party organizations, trade unions and worker self-governments from several hundred light industry factories in this country. The conference was chaired by Edward Grzywa, /minister of chemical and light industry/ [in boldface]. also present were representatives of party and administrative authorities of Lodz Province: Jaroslaw Pietrzyk, secretary of the Lodz Province PZPR Committee; Mieczyslaw Serwinski, chairman of the People's Council of the City of Lodz; and Jozef Niewiadomski, mayor of Lodz.

Opening the discussion, Minister E. Grzywa declared that the government anti-inflationary and conservation programs should be filled with concrete content, initiatives and more effective work. Chemical and light industries play an important role in the national economy, supplying more than 20 percent of the products and services on the domestic market and accounting for more than 17 percent of the nation's exports while at the same time accounting for a significant--nearly 40 percent--share in imports.

Last year the ministry's plants produced 1 trillion 336 billion zlotys of output, but even so this was 4 percent less than in 1981, and with respect to certain products it was still lower. For the next 3 years output is scheduled to rise about 5 percent annually. In view of the limited availability of raw and other materials as well as of manpower resources, the achievement of this goal is predicated on a marked conservation of raw and other material, improved utilization of manpower resources, increase in productivity and a general improvement in efficiency of management.

Thus a major task of light industry in implementing the government programs is the maximum utilization of existing production potential, maintenance of the growth rate of production and restoring volume of output to the 1979-1980 level. This will be an extremely difficult task, especially in view of the manpower shortage.

The next task faces the cadre of engineers and technicians and the R&D resources of this ministry: namely, the elimination of unjustified imports from capitalist countries.

In confrontation with the light industry of other, developed countries, our light industry displays various unfavorable characteristics and trends, namely: sluggish pace of investments and of attainment of designed production capacity, excessively high indicators of the consumption of raw and other materials and energy, the "production" of excessively large quantities of waste, the tendency to insist on optimal raw materials and the low competitiveness and quality of products.

A number of these shortcomings can and should be eliminated. For, as declared by Zbigniew Wawrzaszek, director of the Institute of Textile Industry, there exist ready-made technical and technological solutions which need only to be introduced. For example, small outlays on modernizing certain finishing machinery and processes could conserve substantial quantities of energy and even manpower. The point is that at least some of the solutions and new technologies worked out in the industry's research and development base should be applied in practice and considered in plant and ministry conservation programs.

A thrifty utilization of raw and other materials along with the development of the domestic base of certain raw materials for the textile industry such as flax, hemp, wool or hides, the rationalization of imports, and the enhanced utilization of wastes and secondary raw materials represent the next direction of action of the light industry to implement the government programs.

An extremely important issue is that of concern for a high quality of textile products and footwear as well as of knitwear and hosiery. For a high quality of products is the best substitute for quantity. Implementing the anti-inflationary program, the plants should pay attention to proper price determination so as to stabilize prices as well as to altering the employment structure, refining the wage incentive systems and linking more accurately the remuneration of labor to its quantity and quality.

In the discussion it was repeatedly pointed out that the government anti-inflationary and conservation programs are the need of the hour. But even so, should they be elaborated so much and discussed at various levels? Among other things, Tomasz Jarowicz, director of the DAMINA Clothing Plants [ZPO], declared that the most needful thing in implementing these programs is constructing an economic-financial system that would give preference to competent, good and productive work and production and enforce thrifty and rational management. The cost of surmounting the crisis should be borne by all social groups--it was said in the discussion. Hence, the government anti-inflation and conservation programs should also affect and be implemented by the intermediate levels of management (associations) as well as the economic centrum, according to Marian Stefanski, representative of the workers' council at the POLANIL Plant.

1386

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PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

PRON-Roads to Understanding

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 22-23-24 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Jacek Fafara and Zdzislaw Labedzki: "Roads to National Accord"; Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the source]

[Text] /Lively discussion of the draft Declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] is going on throughout the country. In accordance with a previous announcement, the first Congress of the PRON will open in Warsaw in the first decade of this coming May. It will elect officers and accept program documents./

/We asked the following question of several PRON activists:/

/1. What, in your opinion, represents the plane for a national accord of Poles?/

/2. What should the PRON do in order to gain complete public trust?/

/3. The PRON's draft program documents speak of the need for the democratization of power. How would you define this need more precisely?/

Jerzy Mazurek, secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee:

1.

The PRON, which represents an attempt to translate into reality the idea of a national accord formulated for the first time by the party as early as in 1981, is gradually becoming a platform for discussion and dialogue, for building common concepts. This movement represents an original attempt for an accord between the party and its allied parties, on the one hand, and the society on the other--a directly made attempt without needless intermediaries. It ensues from the need to establish an institutional form of reconciling and expressing the attitude of the society toward the principal and highly complex problems whose solution will decide Poland's future.

I interpret the accord as the union of all the forces adhering to the principles of socialism. Although opponents criticize this new institution in our socio-

political life, they have not proposed any alternative solution. The plane of the accord is defined, in my opinion, by such general questions as: rescuing the country from its crisis, restoring their proper meaning to the ideas of socialism and acting to strengthen Poland's international position....

2.

It seems to me that the assumption that the PRON should attempt to gain the complete support of the entire society is fundamentally fallacious. This is not our aim, considering that this would merely signify a new version of the so-called national unity of the 1970s. After all, today we are dealing with a divided, polarized country and it is difficult to assume that we could count on reaching a universal accord, the total support of all citizens. This does not mean, though, that we will not try to win over those who are as yet undecided whether to join the Movement. The road to winning broad public support for the PRON lies simply through its effective action. This may seem a truism, but this is the sole recipe for success. Those PRON elements in the Warsaw City Province whose activities led to concrete accomplishments (and there are quite a few such elements) are precisely in this natural manner building up their own authority and the authority of the entire Movement....

The PRON should broadly represent public opinion and reach it--it should be its spokesman vis a vis the authorities. Actually, the Movement's activists already have started to implement this idea--we intend to establish our own center for public opinion survey. In this field--of course, in measure with the possibilities--much has besides already been accomplished by the Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [OKON].

3.

The PRON as a social movement reinforcing the socialist political system should take an active part in the process of democratizing power. I am convinced that the Congress shall determine, e.g. the principles for consultation on important state decisions and participation of the Movement's representatives in drafting programs for the country's socio-economic development. Another no less important matter is the participation of the PRON in the preparations for the elections to the Parliament and people's councils. These elections will of a certainty be preceded by unusually important work to formulate new principles for electoral procedures and platforms meeting the demands of society as also made by worker communities and party organizations.

We must also work out a formula for a broad public discussion of the issues most important to discrete communities ranging from villages and gminas to occupational, creative and other communities. Only after such knowledge is gained will we have the right to appear before any state organs in matters requiring their decision.

The implementation of the abovementioned tasks is what is meant by the democratization of power. We shall try to accomplish this as the reflectors of public opinion, organizers of dialogue and mediators in disputed matters. By inspiring measures by the authorities--in accordance with the expectations of the society--and, on the other hand, rallying the activism of citizens round the interests of the nation and state, we shall intend to translate into reality the idea of the people's rule. The more people participate in the work of the PRON the more realistic will this goal become.

Waclaw Auleytner, Secretary of the PZKS [Catholic-Social Polish Union] Parliamentary Deputies Club :

1.

I believe that the broadest plane for a Polish national accord is afforded by the increasingly felt need for joint action to rescue our country from its deep crisis. But Poles differ greatly in their views on the nature of that crisis and ways of surmounting it.

It is generally said that the crisis is of an economic, social and political nature. Some also add that this is a moral crisis. This means that the crisis affects the entire nation and state and requires far-reaching reforms. In this matter I share the opinion of the Polish Episcopate, which is calling for a broad dialogue in the spirit of truth, justice, freedom and love.

A highly important issue has surfaced in the pre-Congress PRON discussion: the need for society's unequivocal understanding of the causes of the crisis as identified on the basis of a truthful, free, independent and just appraisal. Without such an appraisal, which would be acceptable to a majority of the nation, it is difficult to speak of common search for ways out of the crisis, of collective thinking that would bring about our renewal.

It is not enough either to merely stress ceaselessly what unites us and ignore the obstacles on the road toward reconciliation, accord and understanding. In the opinion of probably a majority of the society the surmounting of the crisis reduces chiefly to a reform of methods of governing as well as of directing the economy. Many of our compatriots realize that our society has many flaws that exacerbate the crisis and should be eliminated in the process of national life, but they also are aware that it is primarily the mistakes of the authorities that lie at the wellsprings of the crisis. The society is conscious that it was it itself, precisely, through the August protest of workers, that brought to light these systemic defects and mistakes, and it now is asking itself whether the authentic values of that protest will be sufficiently grasped and translated into reality in social thought and activities of the PRON.

2.

Above all, the PRON should have credibility, that is, its actions must be consonant with its theses. But despite the best intentions of the Provisional National Leadership of the PRON, many social groups feel that this not yet the case. It is disturbing, for example, that, as has come to light prior to the Congress, certain discrepancies occur between the PRON's basic Declaration of Activity of 20 July 1982 and some provisions contained in the recent draft Declaration. It is believed that these inconsistencies have been more recently cleared up, but the bad impression remains.

Also unusually important is the language and style of action. Wooden speech and any signs of arrogance of office must be resolutely abandoned. Persons in whom these habits have become inveterate will never be good PRON activists. To be sure, the PRON gradually is evolving new forms of work, but it is strange why little is being written and said about it, although this precisely can build up credibility and trust. One such new form of action is the principle of respecting the identity of each partner. This principle is applied daily at the PRON's central offices and at sessions of its dignitaries, with no one being able or desirous to outvote another. These sessions are often characterized by heated

discussion but the aim is to reach agreement on decisions. This is an example of authentic dialogue which may promote the recovery of trust.

Of importance also to the credibility of action of the PRON is the implementation of its idea in the provinces. However, I make bold to state that one reason for the reserved attitude of a sizable number of citizens toward the Movement is the often conservative style of work of its administrative apparatus. This does not attract to the PRON many valuable citizens who view such a style as an undeniable sign of a gap between the words of the Declaration and deeds.

I fear besides that this phenomenon is of a deeper nature and reflects the "friction" between two tendencies: the old tendency toward the "state-institutionalization" of the society and the new tendency that has emerged from the ideas of the workers' protest in 1980 and the July Declaration of the PRON and which runs toward greater public participation in affairs of state. Surmounting these phenomena would provide the chances for an authentic recovery of the public's trust.

3.

The essence of the presence of the PRON in public life consists in broadening the influence of society on the activities of the state and strengthening the self-organization of the public. This concerns chiefly providing every citizen with an equal chance for participation in public life.

I interpret this as a declaration of full access to any position in the state as regards non-party members and believers as well, which is already being more broadly implemented. I interpret it as respect for the views and outlook of every citizen, as an acknowledgment of the pluralism of Polish culture and also as respect of the law for pluralism of traditions.

An ideal situation would be one in which the PRON could authentically support only those measures by the authorities on which it would be consulted and give its agreement while at the same time reserving its own critical opinion as regards problems it is not consulted upon. Of course, this also means guaranteeing the legal development of a number of forms of democratic action. I refer here to the need for drafting new voting regulations as well as for a decree on social consultations, a decree appointing the Constitutional Tribunal, a passport decree, etc. as well as to the consistent enforcement of these decrees. For there is nothing more demoralizing than the disregard of binding decrees, by both the state administrations and individual citizens at that. The PRON should defend the decrees already voted by the Parliament which the state administration too often is desirous of revising or updating, apparently without realizing that it thus undermines faith in the stability of the legal provisions in force and engenders a feeling of uncertainty and absence of stability.

Alfred Beszterda, member of the Presidium of the Democratic Party [SD] and secretary of its Central Committee

1.

The national accord is for me a continuing process--it cannot happen all at once. Hence it is difficult to enumerate once and for all the issues to be comprised by this accord....

The plane for the accord is provided by all the fundamental issues of common concern to all who have started to build this Movement. I refer to the provisions contained in the declarations of the three political parties and three Catholic associations. This refers to issues of the system of society, the Constitutional legal order and the Polish *raison d'etat*. All other issues must be subject to intense social dialogue, both "horizontal" and "vertical." Such discussions are not, of course, intended merely to exchange views; their purpose is, by stimulating public thought, to cause the formation of a socio-moral infrastructure that would be the basis for a continuing process of renewal as well as of the implementation of the economic reform. By this we mean the restoration of the work ethic and of the operation of ethical-moral norms and the shaping of a political culture.

2.

As I see it, this trust must be gained by the PRON chiefly on a "micro" scale: in the apartment building, in the work establishment, in the town, in the village....This means that that task of building the socio-moral structure should be accomplished in everyday life among neighbors and friends. This is tremendously difficult and we all should help the Movement's activists to achieve it. This means that PRON activists need a great deal of civil courage, resoluteness and determination in acting. Without such attitudes, without concrete accomplishments, the mistrust and detachment with which the PRON still meets in many communities cannot be overcome.

3.

These postulates mention not only the democratization of power but the democratization of the entire socio-political life. To me this means chiefly that PRON activists should stimulate the full utilization of the already existing legal institutions that democratize our life but in practice do not always function completely. This concerns both the people's councils and the elements of residential self-government as well as the cooperatives and many social organizations.

The democratic functioning of the instruments for common settlement of common issues should constitute a general social model for resolving Polish issues. In this sense, too, the PRON can contribute to safeguarding us against any return of crises in the future. This can be assisted, e.g. by the implementation of the PRON's proposals concerning the voting of a decree on social consultations and granting to the Movement the desired prerogatives as ensuing from the future electoral laws.

The democratization of power can also be achieved with the aid of the PRON by assuring the proper functioning of public opinion. The Movement should be its reflector and distinctive spokesman, which does not mean at all that it should be uncritical. The PRON should also be a kind of "watchman" who alertly observes socio-political life and signalizes any irregularities that occur and proposes ways of eliminating them. This must be a *p r o c e s s* and it is precisely the indispensability of this process that assures the permanence of our Movement as an institution.

Kielce Pre-Congress PRON Meeting

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 23-24 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (jch): "Pre-Congress Meeting: The PRON in the Cooperatives"; Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the source]

[Text] On the initiative of PRON activists at cooperatives in the Kielce Province, yesterday a meeting took place between a group of delegates to the coming congress and the representatives of province and city authorities as well as the officers of the PRON Province Council headed by Professor Henryk Jurkiewicz.

The Patriotic Movement has found many supporters in the cooperative community. This is demonstrated by the active PRON elements established in /labor cooperatives, dairy cooperatives, housing cooperatives and those associated with the Voivodship Administration of Communal Cooperatives [WZGS] and the Provincial Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations [WZKiOR]/. Currently, branches of the PRON are being established at the Province Consumers' Cooperative [WSS] and in cooperatives for the disabled. The initial experiences and achievements of elements of the Patriotic Movement in this subsector of the economy were described by Tadeusz Zawistowski, the chairman of the Province Commission for Inter-Cooperative Cooperation, who is at the same time the deputy chairman of the Province Council of the PRON. Many recommendations and proposals also were submitted by the representatives of discrete cooperatives: Jerzy Sukow, Ireneusz Witecki, Boguslaw Kedziora and Bronislaw Kmiecicki. The issues discussed included the need to develop culture and sports, which produce the greatest influence on youth. Credit was also given to PRON activists for strengthening self-government and exploring latent potential and hence also increasing the production of consumer goods. The dairy industry is waiting for help, as it operates obsolete facilities. Also submitted was the proposal that, as in other cities--a cocktail-bar [as published] offering dairy beverages and products be established in Kielce. As for the housing problem, the main obstacles to solving it include the scarcity of developed land throughout the province as well as of funds for the infrastructure, and also the prices of building materials and the rising operating cost, which directly influences the level of housing rents.

Jozef Knapik, delegate to the congress and chairman of the Province Division of the PAX Association, declared: "The PRON is a Movement of Hope. Thus, the congress must not only determine a program but also take a position on important national issues. We cannot resolve these issues as a divided nation, during street disturbances; we can resolve them only during a nationwide discussion with full commitment by citizens who wish to live better.

A position on the proposals relating to Kielce city and province made during the discussion was taken by: Zdzislaw Skowron, first secretary of the PZPR city committee, and Zdzislaw Kowalski, Province Committee secretary. The latter praised highly the accomplishments of PRON activists and the cooperatives as a whole. He also proposed organizing a similar meeting for exchange of views and opinions between PRON activists from the cooperatives and from the principal labor establishments in the province.

PRON-Advocates of Social Interest

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Report by (PAP): "PRON Activists: We Wish To Be the Spokesmen for the Public's Interests"; Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /In 16 more days the First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth will open in Warsaw. More than 1,900 participants will meet, representing 10,000 basic elements of the Movement which associate 450,000 persons, of whom 50 percent are workers and peasants./

The topic of the first all-Polish debate will be defining the place, role and tasks of the Movement. For there is no doubt that, although the Movement is a significant social force in this country, it does not include all those who should belong to it. The principal issue is to reach all social and occupational groups, youth and those citizens who are unfamiliar with the program assumptions of the Movement. This accounts for the great importance of popularizing the ideological-program assumptions of the PRON and winning over to it all valuable individuals who do not question the principles of the political system of our state. The PRON has an asset in the form of its incontrovertible accomplishments--the fact that it has done so much and its goals are so ambitious. One accomplishment of the Movement for National Rebirth is attending to many human problems and troubles as well as to those of entire social and occupational groups. The Provisional National Council of the PRON in Warsaw maintains the Intervention Commission and a Team for Culture. In addition, work is under way to establish a center for public opinion survey that would be independent of the state administration. This concerns forming an element that could advise the PRON National Council about the demands and desires of the society. After all, the PRON is to be a bridge between the authorities and the citizenry, and it is also to initiate measures to be taken by the authorities and monitor their validity. These matters were discussed yesterday at a press conference with the heads of the PRON Provisional National Council [TRK] in Warsaw: Jan Dobroczyński, chairman of the TRK PRON; the vice chairmen Andrzej Elbanowski and Augustyn Kogut; Prof Jerzy Ozdowski, Zdzisław Pilecki, Alfred Beszterda, Presidium member Prof Adolf Ciborowski, and Secretary General of the TRK PRON Prof Marian Orzechowski.

During lively discussion attention was drawn to the fact that the PRON was and remains a movement open to all. As a spontaneous movement, it explores novel methods of action and attempts to define and work out for itself a place in town and country as well as at labor establishments. The PRON is not just another institution in our life but a genuine spokesman for the society and it affords a chance for achieving its intentions and aspirations.

On 21 [Apr 83] a meeting took place between Div Gen Czesław Kiszczyk and Deputy to the Parliament Zdzisław Pilecki, vice chairman of the TRK PRON and chairman of the Commission for Social Intervention under the PRON. They discussed aspects of the complaints and proposals submitted to the PRON by citizens and agreed upon the principles of cooperation between the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] and the PRON's Commission for Social Intervention as regards the procedure for examining and resolving matters within the ministry's competence.

Other topics discussed during that meeting included aspects of the ongoing work to update the decree on passports.

Role, Tasks of PRON in Countryside

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 23-24 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (sna): "Role and Tasks of the PRON in the Countryside: Pre-Congress Meeting of Farmers-Delegates From Seven Provinces"; Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /(Own information.) "UNITY, WORK AND PEACE"--such was the guiding idea of the pre-Congress meeting, held last Friday Lublin, of rural delegates and activists of the PRON from seven provinces: Bialsk-Podlaska, Chelm, Lublin, Radom, Siedlce, Tarnobrzeg and Zamosc./

/The meeting's principal topic was the tasks and role of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in the countryside, especially as regards meeting the demand of the nation's food economy./

The following took part in the deliberations, chaired by Stanislaw Rostworowski, chairman of the Province Provisional Council of the PRON in Lublin: Jerzy Grzybczak, vice chairman of the Presidium of the Provisional National Council [TRK] of the PRON and secretary of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party; Zbigniew Gertych, Vice Marshal of the PRL Parliament; and farmers from Lublin Province along with Wieslaw Skrzydla, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee.

The report for discussion was presented by the vice chairman of the TRK PRON, who declared that /the Movement for National Rebirth is a young movement conceived under extremely difficult and complex socio-political conditions. It still lacks elaborated forms, patterns and methods of action, but it exists in the stage of searching for a permanent place of its own in our socio-political system. This movement cannot and will not become--the speaker said--a new so-called transmission belt running from the authorities to the society. But it cannot either be a new opposition force. What it is to be rather is a plane for cooperation of all citizens regardless of affiliation and views to whom the destiny of the nation and the country and its future are close./

The PRON is an independent formation, self-governing and autonomous. It should strive to reconcile the actions of the authorities at all levels with the aspirations of the society. It will also exercise many other important functions such as opinion-making, monitoring, the conduct of elections to the people's councils and the Parliament, the recall of deputies, etc. But it is its participants who will decide on the forms and methods of action of the Movement. It is precisely on them that the future shape of the PRON depends.

/The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth will have an important task to fulfill in the countryside. The current national membership of the PRON is 450,000, of whom 152,000 are rural dwellers. A major task of the Movement in the countryside will be the struggle for the proper treatment of farmers by the administration, for respect for their time and personal and occupational dignity./ Another of its tasks will be to energize the activities of political and social organizations and rural self-governments, initiate public drives, and rebuild the idea of neighborly mutual assistance between town and country as well as their disrupted trade links. In a word, the Movement's activists in the countryside must consider in their activities the complex whole of aspects of the intensification of rural production with the object of improving the feeding of the nation.

Some 15 speakers took the floor during the discussion. They spoke with concern of the current situation in agriculture in their communities and in the country as well as of its future. /Mention was made of the need for honest and thorough work at every workstation, for social justice, for patriotism and duty toward the fatherland, and of the external and internal dangers menacing the fatherland./ Specific examples were cited to illustrate the irregularities that still exist in, among other thing, services to agriculture and to the farmers themselves.

Plain words without beating around the bush were spoken concerning commonly known issues that are extremely important to the countryside, to agriculture, and its future. /Thus, the problem of supplying the countryside with means of production, building materials, agricultural equipment and other manufactured goods was mentioned again and again./ Much attention was also given to such problems as: /profitability of production, proper prices of agricultural products, the need for cooperation between town and country to rescue the country from its crisis./

In the discussion floor was also taken by the Vice Marshal of the PRL Parliament, who, among other things, expressed great appreciation of the Polish farmers for their toil, patriotism and civic attitude. Further, he informed those present tat the work on the Parliamentary decree governing the Constitutional registry of land ownership is already nearing its end.

Effects of PRON Radio Broadcasts

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 25 Apr 83 pp 1, 2
[Article by (sna): "Many Listeners Demanded a More Specific PRON Program of Action: Great Interest in Radio Broadcast"; Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /(OWN INFORMATION.) Last Saturday Polskie Radio broadcast an all-day program drive under the slogan "The PRON--Roads to National Accord."/

/This program was intended to present a broad picture of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, to recall its founding idea and to present its achievements and intentions so far. All day long, locally and nationally known PRON activists stayed at the Polskie Radio Station in Warsaw and in regional radio stations and answered the questions of listeners./

At the Polskie Radio Station in Lublin the watch at the telephone was kept by Ewa Zukowska of the Lublin Province House of Culture, a delegate to the national congress, and Prof Henryk Groszyk of the Maria Curie-Sklodowska University.

The watch's telephones rang incessantly all day. Most of the listeners to the radio program called from Lublin, Zamosc and Chelm. A broad range of problems was raised, from very detailed ones, often requiring personal intervention, to the more debatable and general ones.

/Nearly all radio listeners without exception expressed the wish for a more specific program of action of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth./ They regarded its current ideological and program assumptions as too vague. Replying to these accusations, the PRON activists invited to the radio station declared that the coming congress should--on the basis of the new proposals and comments submitted during the recently ended programs-elections campaign--work out a clear and explicit program of action, consonant with the expectations of broad masses of society.

Many of the callers to the Lublin radio station also expressed interest in the fate of the Front of National Unity [FJN]. They asked what would be the PRON's role in the relationship between the authorities and society.

The PRON is a young movement, looking for a permanent place of its own in our socio-political conditions. It is to be a plane for action of all citizens regardless of affiliation and views who are linked by the desire to act for the good of the country and nation. The nature of the PRON will chiefly depend on its participants.

To conclude this brief report, one more aspect deserves mention. Some of the telephone conversations, particularly in the first, preliminary stage, were of a sharp and often even aggressive nature. But following an exchange of opinions with the Movement's activists, Ms Ewa Zukowska and Prof Henryk Groszyk, these conversations ended pleasantly.

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KRAKOW COMMITTEE HOSTS DISCUSSION OF PZPR CONDITION, NEEDS

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 5 Apr 83 pp 1, 5, 6

[Article by Krzysztof Cielenkiewicz: "The Party Has To Restore the Authority of the Working Class Consistently: Discussion Before the 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee"]

[Text] The participants in the round table of the Center Research and Ideological Education of the PZPR KK [Krakow Committee] were Andrzej Czyz, the deputy head of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee; Antoni Hajdecki, the chairman of the Krakow Audit Commission; Wladyslaw Loranc, the head of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee; Wladyslaw Machejek, the chief editor of ZYCIE LITERACKIE; Wacław Morawski, a member of the KK Executive Board, and secretary of the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] at the Steel Plant of the HiL [Lenin Iron and Steel Works]; Julian Wielgosz, the head of the Center; and Tadeusz Wronski, the first secretary of the Krowodrze PZPR KD [City District Committee]. With the discussion, led by Witold Wasniewski, the deputy director of the UJ [Jagiellonian University] Institute of Political Sciences, we are inaugurating the first meeting within the framework of an ideological seminar, from which we are presenting below an abbreviated authorized transcript.

"We are proceeding from the assumption that there is a need to increase the intensity of ideological work, a need to improve the party's ideological condition. Guided by this conviction, we think that the aktiv of the Krakow organization should undertake broad ideological discussions that would provide a response to the questions and doubts associated with those situations today which necessitates perusing the new signs of the time; we are trying to bring our discussion as close as possible to the party's political practice"--this is how one may briefly present the intentions of the organizers.

W. Wasniewski

In the course of today's discussion, which is entitled "Party--Society--State," we would like to obtain an answer to two questions: what is the party like today? What should be changed in the party and in what direction, in order for it to be ideologically uniform, politically active, and effective in its political activity?

The initial complex of problems for the discussion, namely "party and society." requires finding an answer to several questions: What does it mean to say that the PZPR is the workers' party? What should it mean to say that the party is the leading force in society? What should this be based on, whom should it lead, whose interests should it represent, and with whom should it be allied? How can this complex of problems be realized under the conditions of the current state of social awareness?

J. Wielgosz

What is meant by the question of what the party is like today? Today, or as I understand it, what is our party like after August, after the Ninth Congress, after 13 December? Consequently, what is it like on the threshold of the 1980's?

I will begin with the quantitative state of the party, and thus in other words: Is it true that the party, as a result of the sharp political battle in which we have been participating for nearly 3 years, has suffered serious losses? In certain circles the views on this subject are far-reaching and suggest that the party has been left in a ruined form. The facts do not confirm this view. According to the data of the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, the party has 2,340,000 members. If we accept that at the time of the Eighth Congress the party's size reached the verge of 3 million, then we note a large loss. On the other hand, in the categories of the possibilities for action, I think that a party with two and a half million members is large enough to carry out its statutory and constitutional functions.

What causes governed the quantitative decrease in the party's condition? Certainly this is a result of the normal process of "leaving the party," which exists in every decade. If we add to this the lack of a growth in party ranks in the course of the last two years, then we can isolate one source, one cause of the loss in our personnel composition.

The next group of those who left the party is composed of the portion of the previous personnel composition that left the PZPR's ranks of their own will, not accepting either the program or the practice of the party. In spite of appearances, this group is not large. In order to document this assertion, we can make use of the example of the two largest Krakow party organizations--the worker organization at the Lenin Steelworks, the size of which has been maintained at the level of 5,500 members, and the school organization at the Mining and Smelting Institute, which presently has over 750 members. I am furthermore speaking of those milieus--workers and scientific workers--of which there is a fairly common belief that they have left the party on a large scale. It turns out that that is not true, which does not mean that there

have not been losses. They are quantitative and qualitative; there are even important names, and in society's perception more weight is given to individuals leaving the party, with those remaining in the party being passed over in silence. A self-purging process has also occurred in the PZPR, and it was more intensive because it took place under difficult political conditions.

If, however, we take into account the effect of these three phenomena causing a reduction in the party's personnel composition, then I think that from the quantitative point of view, the PZPR has survived a very dramatic test of time. The correctness of this thesis is confirmed by the numbers--after a sharp political battle internally, and externally a battle with all the forces with an anticommunist, antisocialist, and antiparty orientation, being under enormous pressure, with such a complex internal situation--the party has remained a party of almost two and a half million people.

I would like to call the next aspect of the party's composition the social and professional aspect. The party's quality is determined by the answer to the question: Who is in it? Who are we? What qualities do we have at our disposal? Looking at it from this point of view, we should first of all touch upon the problem of the working class. There are still many people who assert that from a party with a definite worker core, the PZPR has become a party that is "still a workers' party." But after all, close to a million workers remained in it. Close to a million--which is about 40 percent.

There is another element--the problem of the younger generation. Has our party aged to such a degree that one could speak of it as being at an age close to retirement, implying that it is without prospects? The data that we have at our disposal warn that such a danger exists and will grow unless changes occur. One should consider, however, that based on the course of the last few years with the development of party ranks among youth, we still have a good average age in the party. This gives us a necessary respite, time during which there is a chance that we will not lose contact between the generations.

Thus, if we take into account these two elements regarding the participation of workers in the party and the participation of the younger generation in the current personnel composition, we can state that the current social and professional structure of the PZPR does not deprive the party of the possibility of effective action in any area.

A. Czyz

I think that the answer to the question of what the party is like today and the changes in its personnel composition are a secondary indicator and not a basic one, since they are the result of the general situation in the party, and also the situation in the sphere of its relations with its social environment, rather than a factor bringing about this situation. Nevertheless, these changes demonstrate the feeling of a bond of membership, the bond with the party's program and its policy; or a gradual disillusionment with the negative results of party activity. They are also an expression of the force of pressure, the force of the weight of social opinion, often inspired by antiparty and

antisocialist positions. They are also an expression of the party's ideological resilience, and its capacity for struggle and resistance.

I have before me the statistical data confirming what comrade Wielgosz spoke about and indicating that by 30 June 1980, i.e. before the outbreak of the sharp phase of the conflict, the party had 3,150,000 members. On the other hand, by the end of 1981, i.e. by the time martial law was imposed, its size had fallen to 2,693,000; at the end of 1982 there were 2,340,000 members. Overall this loss was 25.7 percent, including a 13 percent loss in 1982.

It is possible to distinguish two phases in the movement of the departure from the party. First: in 1980 and 1981, which were dominated by withdrawals manifesting themselves primarily in the surrender of party membership cards and the departure of those who broke down, who lost their feeling of a bond with the party, who were wavering in ideology, who could not withstand the pressure, and also of those who protested in this manner against the party's mistakes or what they regarded as mistakes, and expressed their lack of faith in the possibility of correcting these mistakes. About 500,000 members left in this manner. They left primarily at their own initiative, and to a small extent at the initiative of basic organizations.

On the other hand, the 13 percent reduction in the party's personnel status that occurred in 1982 took place with a more active role being played by the POPs [basic party organizations]. During that period 100,000 members turned in their membership cards. Some of them were excluded from the party by the method of turning in this membership card, with this method being linked to a general turning away from its policy. On the other hand, 48 percent of those who left in 1982 were suffering the consequences of their own lack of activity or violation of party discipline, and consequently leaving the party at the initiative of the basic organizations. In 1982, the POPs reaction to the attitudes and conduct of party members was more active, especially with respect to those conflicting with the statutory requirements. The party organizations removed some PZPR members for violating party discipline and for political hypocrisy. This was also associated with an intensified assessment of the ideological and political attitude of party members.

And in regard to the social-professional condition of the PZPR, if the entire party reduced the size of its ranks by 25 percent, then the number of workers fell by 36 percent and their share in the social composition of the party was reduced from 46 to about 40 percent. Analysis of the "geography" of this drop is interesting. The process of departure from the party was more rapid in large plants than in smaller ones. I think that this is related to the fact that it was precisely in the large plants that there was the strongest protest reaction against deviations from accepted principles and social values, against the errors in party policy. But one should also consider that a large part of the largest plants consists of the working class with less seniority, not to mention the fact that that was where the attention of the party's political opponents was concentrated.

I would like to draw three conclusions from what I have said. First, supporting the general thesis that the party is emerging from the most serious phase of the crisis numerically weakened, but retaining the basic part of its members, who have chosen a course together with the party, and, what is

valuable, precisely in the face of an unusually acute crisis and social conflict. They have thus made a fully conscious political choice, although not always an ideological one.

Unfortunately, these data also confirm the opinion that the degree of disillusionment with the results of the party's policy and the style of its work, the scale of ideological dissension, and the crisis of confidence have been strongest in the worker milieu, and at least were more apparent when people were leaving the party. There is also a need to make an assessment of the scope of these processes in individual groups of the working class, especially since these tendencies are being maintained this year and have not yet been balanced by the gradually increasing process of joining the party.

I find in this a confirmation of my third conclusion, namely that the most essential thing now is to strengthen the worker nature of the party, and to restore in society's perception the image of the party as the one that articulates and defends the workers' interests.

It is obvious that it is not the statistical composition that determines the worker nature of the party. In order for the party to be able to lead its class, in its ideology and program it has to reflect the class's objective interests. It also has to convince the class that this program and the practice of its implementation really do reflect these interests well; that the party's theoretical system, which is richer in relation to the class's common awareness, allows a better assessment of the social conditions for realizing these interests; and that the party's system of values also corresponds to the class's system of values. Above all, however, it must convince them that the party subordinates itself to accepted principles of serving its class both in resolving the crucial problems of socialist construction and in its everyday practical activity; both when it determines its political alliances and expresses positions on the development of the socialist political system, and when it fulfills its guiding role in the mechanisms of socialist democracy; both when it formulates the directions of its socioeconomic policy and administrative mechanisms, and when it organizes the implementation of economic programs and influences the distribution of manufactured goods.

This organically understood union of the ideological content with the party's practical activity will allow it to be the political representative of the working class, to be able to lead the way for it, but at the same time serve its interests in its daily activity. Then the relationship between the class and the party will unite within itself service and leadership.

This is the essence of the line of the Ninth Congress. But the guarantees for understanding and implementing it properly lie in the worker social basis of the party, and also in its social composition and the composition of the authorities.

W. Wasniewski

This dialogue about the social-professional condition is an attempt to answer the general question of "what the party is like today," and what is the condition of its ideological unity, political unity, and capacity for action under the current conditions. I would like to ask the practitioners in political life to make a statement on what you think about this.

T. Wronski

I agree with the views presented by the comrades on the reasons for leaving the party. Undertaking an attempt to answer the question of what the party is like today in the sense of its practical activity, I can state that there has been a revival of party activity; party members have begun to feel more certain, and they are beginning to act by undertaking decisions through party organizations on matters of importance to labor plants and institutions. With one reservation--that this is the influence of part of the aktiv, the secretaries, and the members of the executive board. The ranks of the membership are still showing less willingness to participate in the work of the party. People more frequently and more willingly deal with subjects that are associated with economic issues, pay issues, or socialist democracy, but when it comes to dealing with ideological or world-view problems, they fall silent. A certain indifference has appeared among party members in regard to these issues...

W. Wasniewski

Is this condition a result of a lack of desire to discuss these subjects, inertia, or simply a result of certain divisions that take place and of which the party members are aware? Maybe they are protecting themselves in this manner from getting into new conflicts, this time among themselves?

T. Wronski

I think that this is a result of the situation existing before martial law, when discussion in the party was heading in the direction of strengthening among its members the conviction that they should be ideologically indifferent, i.e. that they can be trusting, practicing, etc.

In order to mobilize the party, it is also essential to know its structure from the Solidarity period and the changes that have occurred. Where the entire party organization was in Solidarity, along with the secretary and the aktiv, the party is still very weak. In these organizations everything was blurred, especially on the ideological level.

Returning to the question of what the party is like today, I can state that the worker organizations of the party are beginning to function actively and correctly. On the other hand, the situation is different in the design bureaus and scientific institutes, where there has been a large drop in the number of party members and the organizations are still functioning poorly today. There is still a lack of determination in political activity, and a lack of courage among the party members in those organizations in the struggle with the political opponent. Changing this state of affairs will require a great deal of explanatory and ideological work from us, in order for the party organizations to become active and be determined in their activity.

I think that there should be a verification in the party, but not in accordance with the old principles. It is necessary to give the party members tasks, both general, and ideological and political ones. It is only on this basis that we should conduct a verification, and then we should say to the present members

who are not in line with the party's ideological, political and economic program, "You have to leave the party so that you will not drag it down."

W. Machejek

In my view, the party is much, much stronger than it was half a year ago. But we should remember what we are contrasting ourselves with, what kind of deplorable level. I am setting a high standard, and it is also for this reason that I am giving such an answer for the condition, and then for the potential. I have always understood the party in terms of its activity. The definition is not important to me. What does "in terms of its activity" mean? Until we return to the principle that was after all not only acknowledged but also realized to a great extent, that every PZPR member has to perform concrete tasks and is responsible for the designated sector, then we will have "dead" members, at least in the social sense. Since the fact that one works well-- is it sufficiently good in the factory? Everyone works. For his family, for the money, etc. Let us stop saying that we are working only for... Thus also the admission of someone into the party just because he performed his work above the norm was a very limited and opportunistic criterion.

The party was created in activity, beginning with the occupation, through the PPR [Polish Workers' Party], etc. Everyone had a task--in his plant, on the street, or in a school. It seems funny to me to see those notices in the newspapers announcing that party members have already decided to join trade unions. After all, so far we have not overcome the impasse on the subject of joining them. This is very bad, in my opinion, since with what politically encouraging argument are we reaching out a hand to the workers who do not belong to the party? It is necessary to begin with work in the party organizations. Every member of the party has to belong to a trade union, maybe not all at once, but fairly gradually. I consider the hesitation on this matter thus far to be great negligence.

Let us return to the figures. They do not frighten me. Lenin said that it is enough for 10 percent of society and 20 percent of the working class to belong to the party... He did not aspire to more in order to guarantee the guiding role of the party. Thus, I think that 40 percent of the workers in the party is a great deal, provided that the others do not dominate them. Let us recall that in Poland there are 220,000 directors and various presidents, of which I think 80 percent are party members. Thus, if there are over 900,000 workers in the PZPR, and they are active in addition, this will not be bad.

After 10 November, the party is really beginning to strengthen itself gradually, and if the present rate is maintained, after a year it will be able to speak in a louder voice.

This is the matter of the creative unions, in which we are remaining inactive. But let us not be frightened by this either. There have after all been times when we were not present there at all. There was nothing to remain inactive. There was no one.

The party needs a reasonable but consistent policy in regard to culture, like Kadar's, I would say. Kadar did not go into hysterics before the altars of size, and the prominent Hungarian creative artists returned to the party at the turning-point of the 1960's, at the same time as the Hungarian kitchens were stocked.

W. Loranc

Let us try to consider the party by using the three general concepts "Party-State-Society;" in doing this it seems to be characteristic that while examining these three sides of reality we have overlooked such a fundamental matter as class. I think that, understood with the correct methodology, the subject of our deliberations should instead be formulated as follows: class and society, and party and state, in order to analyze the situation as completely as possible.

I am speaking of this from the following point of view: I do not have much faith and deliberations about the party that do not go beyond its limits can say anything about its real condition and the party's situation in society. It appears to me to be very essential and important that the basis for every deliberation about the party have general limits and that it not be viewed exclusively from the perspective of a rather mythologized concept of society, but primarily, from the point of view of the class reality. This is very much absent in discussions of the political situation and the party's position.

I would also like to call attention to the fact that we are not considering such determining factors as the relations between socialism and capitalism today, and the relations between the strategy and tactics of confrontation and the strategy and tactics of coexistence. But each of these factors has a very fundamental and direct effect on the situation in the party and on the party's situation in society.

And if this is true, then I would try to look at the problem being discussed by us from a somewhat different point of view. The party bears the title of the Polish United Workers' Party. Each of the words in the title has its own basic meaning. But the most important word, if I may make such a distinction for the sake of the discussion, is the word "Worker's." And if we consider the situation of the party, it is from this point of view that it should be viewed. People also say "the historic role of the working class," its "role today;" this is justified by the numerical strength of this class and the way that it is situated in production relationships. At the same time, people often overlook the very essential fact that even from the point of view of historical experiences, the quantitative factor may not have great significance. Also, our contemporary experiences indicate that the quantitative factor in the role of the working class in the entirety of production relationships may not have very great significance in certain concrete situations. This is because the quantitative factor ceases to have political significance as soon as it occurs that the working class is divided. This very authoritative and powerful class becomes simply the object of a game, and we moreover experienced such a situation in the years 1980-1982.

Consequently, before discussing the party--the most important thing appears to be the relations between it and the basic class, and thus also the extent to which it is a workers' party. This is not in the statistical sense, since these statistics are quite favorable, and even good. They are so good that if there were really significant we would not feel the need to gather around this table.

Consequently, the essential thing is whether the party of the working class, in our social realities, can integrate this class, and whether the relations between the party and the class are such that from the point of view of both the internal theater of the political battle and the intersystemic arrangements, the situation is developing in the manner dictated by the current and long-term needs of that same class.

I would put it this way--politically, our party is still very weak with respect to the working class, and its leading role in relations to the class as a whole is unusually poorly realized. The internal statistics, i.e. the statistics on the class structure of the party are considerably better than the role of the party with respect to the working class and of the class and the party with respect to society as a whole. The criterion might be the development of the union movement at this time of the formation of attitudes, etc. All of this shows that on the fundamental political level the situation is still exceptionally serious. As a party we have not yet managed to overcome the most serious threat, which lies in the fact of the disintegration of the working class and antagonisms among individual fragments of it. This has led to a situation in which both the role of the working class in the entirety of social-production relations and the numerical scope of this class are not presently functioning as would result from a simple, mathematical calculation.

W. Morawski

During a certain period, someone got it into his head that the HiL Party Organization, for example, had to have 10,000 members. The secretaries of the individual organizations received plans for recruiting for the party, and were strictly held to account for the implementation of these plans. The party had been cluttered up in this manner, and it was collapsing. At the moment when the collapse occurred, the people leaving the party were the ones who joined it in order to receive a higher rank, an apartment, etc. This is not bad at all; in this manner the party ranks were purged to a great extent. Those who joined the party for ideological reasons remained in it.

But the question has remained--why was such extensive recruiting for the party not accompanied by appropriate training? We are only stating today that the level of political knowledge among the present members of the party is very low. They do not know elementary matters, and without knowledge about the party, socialism, society, or the state, they could not and cannot enter into a discussion with a political opponent. The people at the bottom should be reached with elementary knowledge; the party is already strong enough organizationally to be able to accomplish a great deal in this matter. At our steelworks we have undertaken such activity, through an obligatory system of education, not just for party members, but for all of the cadres.

There is still no political unity and cohesion. But let us impart this knowledge and only then speak of possible verification and self-determination of the party members.

W. Wasniewski

Let us go on to the next phases of the discussion, and thus answer the question of what it means to say that the party is a workers' party, with all the consequences of this position, and what should be done in order to strengthen the party. Certain elements have already been brought up: intensification of the process of self-determination, uniformity of the attitudes of the members of the party, and the problem of knowledge and education. What else?

A. Czyz

From the analysis that we performed in the course of the discussion, I would draw the conclusion that the principal task in restoring the social influence of the party as a political force capable not only of reflecting but also forming the social and political situation, is restoring its credibility, the credibility of the party as the representative of the class interests of the workers. I repeat that in doing so I would single out the essence of the worker nature of the party, as a force capable of interpreting the long-term and short-term interests of the working class, and which is capable of creating guarantees for the realization of these interests.

What does "interpreting the class interests of the workers" mean? Is this a mere reflection of the existing awareness of these interests? I think that both in social reality and in social awareness the class interests are entangled with an enormous number of contradictions. The party's main task is to resolve them.

These contradictions are a result of both differentiation of many features of the social position of groups and individuals, and of the inertial continuation or revival of those levels of awareness which constitute the inheritance of past formations or are brought "from within" within the framework of the overall battle and ideological confrontation. Let us cite some of these contradictions which sort of stratify social awareness. The first of them, which is objectively determined, exists between immediate and long-term interests. In past months we have had an example of attempts to manipulate working people by appealing to their immediate interests, e.g. increasing wages, reducing working hours--which occurred in a manner fatal to the long-term or medium-term interests of the state and thus of the workers as well. Today the danger of a collision between the apparent immediate interests and the long-term interests can also be seen in the problem of the great pressure for inflationary monetary expenditures.

Another contradiction functioning in common awareness exists between the interests of individual professional groups, and the general social interests, treated as a whole. The next one, the third, exists between the objective class interests and the subjective manner of conceiving these interests. It is expressed both in an inability to free oneself from an individual point of view, and in an incapability of perceiving the long-term consequences resulting from the apparently positive decisions made today.

Also, there is a contradiction between the still very active levels of awareness which are after a fashion an inheritance from past times, and the

levels of awareness that have already arisen on the basis of socialist production relationships. Finally, there is a contradiction that was deliberately introduced into the milieu of the working class by individual political groups, which is most evident in the attempts to form anarchosyndicalist attitudes. It seems that this is the element most heavily exploited by the enemies of socialism, who have invested particularly great efforts in opposing social self-management to the socialist state, and opposing group property to national property. On the other hand, the disintegrating awareness gives rise within it to specific contradictions, and impatience among the radicals, which assumes the form of political leftism. This arises from a protest against the actually existing negative phenomena in social life, but also from an insufficient understanding of the mechanisms of this life. The depth of the crisis and the continuing period of emergence from the difficulties are creating a psychological basis and eliciting a longing for simple, clear formulas, without taking into account the social realities or the always complex mechanism for removing negative phenomena.

Thus, society is involved in the entire tangle of various social, class, and group interests, including also the interests of various fragments of the working class, and the views derived from these or introduced from outside.

How should we view the party's function in light of these phenomena? In the entirety of its activities, the party has to take into account this differentiation, and resolutely combat everything that is derived from alien class assumptions. At the same time, it must strengthen the cohesion of all of society, and reconcile divergent interests, aspirations, and needs, taking as its point of departure the working class's own interests and acceptance of the workers' organizational aims.

In view of these considerations, it is precisely in the well-conceived interest of the working class, both current and long-term, that the party has to oppose the efforts of petty bourgeois ideological attitudes and individualism; it has to oppose the domination by particular and momentary interests that also occurs in part of the working class, and overcome wrong and sometimes reactionary views.

W. Wasniewski

Perhaps we can sum up this part of the discussion by the statement that until the party is successful in examining the contradictions discussed by comrade Czyz, in representing or articulating the interests of the working class, it will not be capable, as comrade Loranc said, of political leadership of this class, and political guidance of the class. Can you agree with this thesis?

W. Loranc

Methodologically, it is a correct reflection. On the other hand, if one were to make a verbal diagnosis that today we have not yet done a great deal on this matter, it would be difficult to accept it.

A. Hajdecki

Our organizational style of action has retained a lack of formation of the party members' awareness in the area of creating community and unity in political and ideological education in the party organism. In observing the increased activity of party organizations in the course of the reports campaign, one could see how concrete tasks for the members really reinforced the foundation for the authority of the party organizations in industrial plants and institutes. I also think that the time has indeed come for the party to provide a clear and precise definition of the role of ideological training and the attainment of political knowledge by a broad range of its own members. We have become too accustomed to having so-called party education take place which is in my opinion nothing more than a schematic system of organization, and not continued training in the sphere of the awareness of the party aktiv.

I agree with the view that the party's strength does not lie in its size but rather in the awareness and passion for activity of the members of the PZPR. During the 1980-1982 period, we observed great passivity, as if the comrades had ceased to believe in their strength and in the strength of the party's influence in society. Restoring this faith is extremely essential.

A struggle for legality, justice, economic development, the question of ethics, morality, etc. is also becoming necessary in every party organization. In particular, these last problems require a longer period of time, but we should recall that the party has to play a leading role in these matters; we must also recall that they do not affect party members alone.

W. Loranc

There is a need, which also results from the postulates stated today, to remember that at one time, the issue of changing the name of the party was even discussed, as well as verification. At the 7th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski stated, as if in polemics with statements of this type, that the problem does not lie in changing the name of the party, in verification, since we can raise the following question--what does verification mean today? There is also one element that would make it possible to undertake it--the party program adopted at the Ninth Congress.

On the other hand, if we look at the party's ideological situation, its political awareness, then on the whole still have to make certain efforts. First the problem of "whether you are behind us or beside us" will also be clear from the point of view of the criteria applied on the political and ideological level.

At the 7th Plenum the following formulation occurred in the statement by the first secretary: the party is the same, but not just the same. We willingly cite this assertion, since it touched upon a certain party susceptibility that is statistically very common. The aktiv and the party members have an awareness that it is necessary to hold tight to certain values. It is not permissible to depart from them, but at the same time a great deal has to be changed.

We are therefore articulating what "the same" and "not just the same" mean in different ways. How can we try today to answer the question "the same?"

In the first place, the party is still the party of the working class, since it acknowledges as basic the social conflict of the epoch, the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and sees a solution to this in the revolutionary rebuilding of production relations, in building a socialist system. I am repeating an elementary matter here, but I consider it extremely important, since it is necessary to articulate as clearly as possible what "the same" means. I repeat: the most important thing seems to me to be that we are the party of the working class in the sense that we consider the basic social conflict to be the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and not, for example, the conflict between the bureaucracy and society, if we can use such an example.

In the second place, the party has not changed the class concept of alliance that it defined in the past, both in the country--the special role of the worker-peasant alliance--and also in international relations. Here I am thinking of our alliances within the community of socialist countries, viewed not only in the aspect of their military content, but also their class content, since it is not possible to be credible in this system if one reduces their significance only to the military aspect.

In the third place, the party is still a voluntary associate of the people that is built on a leninist theoretical foundation, and in remaining such, it has to purge itself in battle. Respecting this axiom preserves ideological uniformity.

In the fourth place, the party has not changed its relationship to the experiences derived from the past struggles of the working class; the working class has thus challenged itself, and the condition for success is the political organization of the class or the existence of the political party of this class.

These are elementary prerequisites, the basic contents contained in the first part of the formulation, "the party is the same." And now comes the part that is more important in view of the experiences--what does "not just the same" mean?

In the first place, it seems to me that the essence of what "not just the same" means is comprised of recognition of the need for change in the sense that the party is self-critically accepting joint responsibility--and I am emphasizing the words joint responsibility--for the defects of the economic plans, for the inefficiency of the state mechanisms, and for the weakening of ethical guarantees. Respecting these guarantees is significant for the entire party and for its internal state.

In the second place, "not just the same" means that the party wants to change its internal organization. The problem of the democratic selection of single-individual and collegial party organs is especially very significant. I recall how much this meant in the campaign before the Ninth Congress, how much of this went into the statute, and how the entire party is treating these new elements of the statute as important. This also means the functioning of the

principle of democratic centralism in a way that better combines the necessary initiative from individuals and organizations with the essential effectiveness of action by the entire party. I repeat, however, that we are stressing not only the effectiveness of action, but also this need for initiative from individuals and organizations.

In the third place, this is a consistent restoration of the authority of the working class, and a search for better organizational solutions and mechanisms. For example, this has to do with the worker composition of collegial organs, and the practice of consultations and searching for different forms.

In the fourth place, "not just the same" means a change in the organization and functioning of the state, in the process of its transition from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the state in a national perspective. "Not just the same" here means in particular readiness to change the relationship between the party and its professional apparatus, and the state and its administration, mainly through the elimination of direct decisionmaking in the relationship between the party's professional apparatus and the state's administrative apparatus, in favor of action exclusively through the mechanism of representative institutions, and thus through deputy clubs, party clubs in the people's councils, etc.

The relationship to the entirety of the national heritage, and to the entire popular tradition, which has changed in the direction of openness, contributes to the fact that we do not want to be just the same. We are not approaching our culture heritage, as we have done before, solely from the point of view of the injuries that were suffered by our intelligentsia of the first generation or the workers and peasants, since we have grown through the injuries experienced.

These elements--although I am not saying that they are the only ones--contribute to and can constitute the concept of "not just the same."

J. Wielgosz

The crisis of the 1980's revealed above all the extent of the knowledge and acceptance of our ideology. Viewing the party in this aspect, I have certain apprehensions associated with the understanding of the concept "the same, but not just the same." I am concerned about whether in the entire process, in this effort aimed at a normalization of economic, social, and political life, there is a dangerous trend toward the stabilization of the party, which I would define with the words "the same and just the same." Is there such a danger? It is possible to point to many symptoms indicating that stabilization is being identified with normalization and that the "status quo ante" is being expressed in this manner. I think that it is worthwhile to call particular attention to this problem. I also wish to assert that very hard work particularly awaits us in the sphere of the ideological superstructure of our party. I would define it as the party's struggle within the party for the party.

Let me turn now the question of what it means to say that the PZPR is the workers' party. Generally, our problem consists of whether, as a party, we are managing to express the interests of the working class in a sufficiently intensive manner, and, after the experiences of recent years, I would say, in a

sufficiently aggressive manner; the extent to which the party's system of operation is effective in realizing these interests in a manner verifiable by this class; and the extent to which this will be articulated by the party in a credible manner.

I will cite a historical example here. I want to return to the period before the Eighth Party Congress, i.e. at the beginning of 1980, when our knowledge of the interests of the working class was considerable. We did not manage, however, to fight aggressively and effectively enough for the realization of the demands voiced by the workers in the party. It appeared at that time that the closer we were to them on the surface, the more blurred everything became. Then when the time came at the Eighth Congress to turn the workers' demands into decisions, it seemed that there was a lack of political imagination.

Viewing the matter practically, everything that was manifested or articulated at that time in the pre-congress campaign was taken over and unfortunately used against the party by our opponents. We experienced the results of this situation a few months later, beginning in August 1980.

I thus consider the basic question for the worker nature of our party to be precisely a clear and sharp articulation of the objective and also subjective interests of the working class. The party also has an obligation to form the awareness of the workers in such a way that it will be known which current interests cannot be realized, and for what reasons. But the workers have to know about this impossibility. This knowledge has to come from the party to the working class. Nevertheless, in spite of everything, I would not disregard the quantitative proportion of workers in the party's ranks. Mere articulation of the interests of this class without the "class itself" is very superficial. It is even theoretically possible, and also practically--which was demonstrated by the elitist Solidarity groups. Even in them, however, it was bearable in the short run.

In what manner can the PZPR realize the values of a party articulating the interests of the working class? It seems that a necessary condition is for the party to make full use of the experiences from political practice in the last three years. If we do not convert this practice into an ordered program of ideological, political, and economic activities, we will make a serious mistake. In other words, it is precisely through this that I understand the open nature of the marxist-leninist party. We have spoken here about the expectations of our fellow citizens, workers, etc. I believe that people dream of our party's being a wise party. I would say that this would be with the people's wisdom, since a wise party is wise through the wisdom of its members. A different one in the Steelworks at Wielke Piece. In a specific village, the party organization has to be wise with the wisdom of its surroundings. At a university, the university party must be wise with the wisdom of the university society. What, then, is in my opinion the problem? It is a question of "leadership" not being wise exclusively through its own wisdom, but rather through the wisdom of the aktiv and all of the members of the PZPR.

A different problem is society's expectation that our party will be respectable, in the general and current meaning of the word. They say, "If you govern, then you simply have to be respectable as a party and as party members. We have to know that the party is in accordance with the people's values."

And here are two more internal aspects of the nature of our party. I think that in the entire approach to the Ninth Congress, the problem of our party's democratic nature was exceptionally discussed, and in my personal opinion, even excessively. But this was a great novelty, not only for the PZPR. What then does the problem consist of? The documents of the congress contained the principle of democracy in entering into the authorities. The problem of democracy in the management of the authorities is equally important, however. And this is not the only thing. There is a problem of mutual esteem in the party, regardless of the position occupied in the hierarchy of its operation. Observation of these two elements will lead to conscious discipline on the part of the party in carrying out its program. Thus, if the party had democratic methods not just for forming the authorities but also for managing the authorities, it would be a party with a chance of obtaining social acceptance. And I add that the expectation of a good party is tremendously larger outside the party. Sometimes I get the impression that society is more dependent on whether we are good than we ourselves inside the party. The PZPR cannot put off this debt of social expectations.

In the long term we undoubtedly have to educate the party. In reality, it has happened that along the way different people have entered it. We have to train them over the long term, and not hurry. We must begin with those who are in the party, but we also have to do it for those we are accepting. And we should begin with the history of Poland; the enemy has attacked and is attacking our pluses and minuses of Poland between the wars--let us cast on that background the greatness and tragedy of the KPP [Polish Communist Party]; let us not be afraid of showing the growth of postwar ideological conflicts in the PPR [Polish Workers' Party] and the PZPR from the womb of the occupation. We never completely got rid of the infamies of [Beriozszczyna]. Is it feared that much will be lost? There will be no harm done; Gomulka will remain--a rock.

We also have to show our party in the villages, show its past, and elaborate the history of its development in that milieu. After all, the PZPR emerged not just from the KPP, as in Miechowski, but also from the NPCH [Independent Peasant Party], from "Liberation" and from "Call to Arms." Let us not be ashamed of what we have taken and of what we have done in order to achieve a peasant association. The fact that the party exists among peasants, genuine peasants, and that they have joined it, is a great achievement of ours.

The party is necessary. Someone said that it is more necessary than it was yesterday. There is also a social need, a longing for stability. We proved 30 years ago that we could recover from a certain low point.

I think that the party will bet on PRON. But it is strange. We have also neglected the people's councils and the need to give them the maximum possible authority. We put in there a lot of social workers who are not party members, and the wiser young people, and even investigate priests to see whether they might want to help in something. It is enough, like the party in gmina people's councils, to ensure oneself a 20 percent share.

W. Morawski

In general one may consider that the party is not loved by society. It was also like that for the Gierek regimen, although that was not discussed.

After 1980 a public masochism began in the party, to which press publications contributed a great deal. In society's eyes, the party acquired a brown color, and it is high time to begin the bleaching. But how is this to be done? By making party activities more concrete, in the way that we are doing it at our place, at the Lenin Steelworks. There is a party program, a resolution from the Ninth Congress. The activities have to be written down for the first factors, for tasks for the party organizations--basic and branch organizations, not to speak of tasks for party members. It is difficult to present the party's program to workers in a crew that has 40 party members, without making it more concrete, down to one's own backyard. But the understanding of the need for such a procedure has not yet reached all party organizations.

What do the party members want? They say, "Get to work." What does this mean? Make your activities more concrete, adopt a program, and do not just present it to the party members at a meeting, but also put it on the bulletin board.

It is only by bringing our work to concrete tasks that we can get under way. If these tasks were written down for a work force, then it would say, "Aha, they have gotten started on this," and it will wait to see whether we will carry it out or not. If it is carried out, then confidence in the party, its members, and the basic organizations among those who are not party members is bound to increase.

W. Loranc

Since a certain change for polemics has crept in, both with comrade Wielgosz and comrade Machejek, let me try to cross swords with them. I agree that society expects wise governments and a wise party. But let us not maneuver around for a repetition of the following understanding: the party is faced with very simple alternatives. These alternatives are truth and falsehood, good and evil, progress and stagnation, workers-petty bourgeoisie-bourgeoisie, and individual interests that are not an alternative with respect to the interensts of society. And the party can choose. After all, a choice in such categories is an activity that is childishly simple. At the same time, we are faced with somewhat more complicated alternatives; we simply have to do something, for example, with the contradictions in the interests of the village itself. We can understand it as follows: are we to act only on the basis of the principle of restoring price relations derived from the base price of a quintal of grain, let us say, and base everything else in food policy on this? We would rather not--after all, we are faced with the problem of accumulation, the problem of accumulation, the problem of how to make our agriculture truly modern; whether we are to sanction the most dispersed system in Europe forever, or not. If we sanction it, after a year we will be doing all right, after 3 years not badly, and after 5 years we will return to this issue, since we have to resolve this somehow...

We cannot allow the party to be maneuvered into a situation that could be expressed with the words "after all, you are faced with quite simple alternatives and therefore you are not resolving this."

I would also like to say a word about the political sphere. We cannot allow ourselves, in talking with the people, a continuation of the view that we also

have to deal with alternatives such as "the top" and "the bottom," the governed and the governing, renewal and impotence, the authorities and the people. And after all, a bit of what was so neatly named as populist wisdom in today's discussion is unfortunately based on the very pragmatic and commonsense view of matters--a commonsense view with one basic defect, namely, the contradictions within the specific organisms are not seen.

It thus appears to me that there are two ways out. One of them was pointed out by comrade Morawski. It is not enough to say that we are carrying out the program of the Ninth Congress. Every basic organization has to be familiar with this program and state, "For this year we are taking such and such from this program for ourselves, it turns out from this program that we have three main tasks for this year, we are adopting two of them, we are not able to implement the third now, we are putting it off until next year, etc." If something like this hangs on the basic party organization's bulletin board, then in my opinion this will be a considerably more significant revolution than if we hand 100 copies of ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY and 200 copies of FAKTY I KOMENTARZE there.

We also have to discuss something else with society. We say that society wants our party to be good and respectable. Agreed. It has its criteria, and even abstract ones. But let us talk with society about one thing: Wouldn't it be inclined to set equally categorical moral and political requirements for all structures that organize it? I ask everyone who says "You party members have to be wise" the following: "Why weren't you inclined to set similar requirements for the Solidarity aktiv? Wouldn't you be inclined to set similar requirements with respect to modesty, wisdom, and respectability for the aktiv of world Catholicism and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church? Why is there such an enormous disparity in criteria? If these ethical norms have any meaning at all, then society has to manage to treat everyone equally."

It is possible to use the argument that the party is the guiding force of the government, etc. I agree with all of these trimmings, but on the other hand I am not giving up on the need to open my eyes and society's to the fact that in this matter a fairly strange game is taking place, since they view us being imposed on society that the basic moral-ethical criteria, formulated in a fairly abstract way, have to be met exclusively by the structure of the authorities, and not by other social structures. This is an important front of discussion with society. Without taking up this problem we will not achieve an understanding, in the deeper sense of the word.

A. Hajdecki

I would like to return to one more subject, although the issue is neither new nor current. We in the party have been thinking for a long time that if we encounter some sort of sloppiness in the administrative authorities or indolence in activity, the party must deal with this sector of work and improve it for others. We have taken too much upon ourselves. Also, at this time we are observing a seizure or stripping of responsibility from the administrative authorities, from the top to the bottom.

I think that the party should create a climate so that to a greater extent, the people's councils at every level, trade unions, workers' self-management units, and self-managing social organizations will be guaranteed opportunities for

broader initiative and activity. On the other hand, at this time the party, with all its might, should concentrate its efforts on ideological and political activities, on forming and creating in society an open awareness in favor of carrying out the programs outlined by the party.

A. Czyz

One of the main themes of our discussion could consist of the dilemma in terms of which it is also possible to view everything that unites the party with society and also the process within the party--namely, the question of the extent to which the party, in its ideology, program, and practical activity, is to reflect the spontaneously formed awareness, the popular wisdom mentioned here, etc.; and the extent to which it should form this awareness. The present awareness, and also the one that is a function of spontaneous formation and of conscious party activity, is full of contradictions. It is thus not possible, in my opinion, to determine unilaterally that the party's ideology and program, its activity, have to be a simple reflection of what exists--with this populist deviation in the direction of common awareness. But it also cannot be a generalization of the theoretical theses of ideological doctrine, and cannot remain in conflict with the existing awareness and people's practical experience. The first leads to opportunism and cleansing oneself in the masses, and the second leads to doctrinarianism. And doctrinarianism and dogmatism in ideology give rise to sectarianism in politics.

W. Wasniewski

It appears from the discussion thus far that the subject around which we are moving is unusually broad. I feel that we have been able to sketch out attempts to answer the question of what the party is and what the relations between the party and society are like. I propose ending the discussion with this and inviting you to another talk about a third problem, which was indicated in a tentative manner. This problem deals with the relations between the party and the state, or in other words, how to govern.

Thank you for participating in the discussion.

9909

CSO: 2600/773

PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES NOTED

Gorzow Self-Government Activities

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 26 Apr 83 pp 1,4

[Article: "Workers' Self-Government Wants To Be a Partner"]

[Text] Yesterday provincial governor Stanislaw Nowak met with chairman of workers' self-governments from Gorzow Province in the hall of the Gorzow Industrial Construction enterprise. Among others, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Florian Ratajczak, and plenipotentiary of KOK Col Jozef Regulski, participated in the meeting.

In the introduction, meeting chairman--chairman of the People's Provincial Council Commission for workers' self-government affairs, Henryk Gapinski--described the development of workers' self-government in the province as well as the course of the commission's work, which without any intention of interference or desires for control to help in any way possible in developing their activity.

Next, the governor presented the socioeconomic situation in the province. In talking about certain symptoms of its improvement he pointed out those failures, which to a significant degree have the possibility of being overcome through firms themselves or their work crews. Informing those present about the favorable conditions today for one-family building construction, he asked the chairman for a wider participation by companies in outfitting the countryside for that goal.

During the course of an interesting discussion, workers' self-governments talked about problems and complaints of their firms. Their presentation was evidence of a deep concern for that which is happening in industry, what kind of influence it has on the fate of its workers and the success of the whole economy. Much was said about the course of putting the economic reform into practice, about the vagueness connected with it and even about its irregularities. Evident in certain statements, however, was a lack of satisfactory acquaintance with today's rules of the economic game, which the reform imposes upon us, and also a still deep-rooted habit of treating similar phenomena differently between one's own enterprise and someone else's. Information about the possibilities of schooling in various subject areas was also positively accepted. It was

concluded that propositions for the subjects should come from members of self-governments themselves. Also, more frequent meeting with councilors of national councils and representatives of local authorities was proposed.

Relating to the numerous comments and conclusions, the governor assured them, that many of them will be made use of in the current work of the administration.

Experts on Workers' Self-Government

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 28 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article: "Consultation Point With the Provincial Parliamentary Delegation: Experts on Workers' Self-Government"]

[Text] As was stated, organizational-legal aid is essential for election commissions in work places as well as for self-government organs of work crews at this present stage. It has happened, for instance, that in certain firms passive election rights were limited for persons completely capable of representing work crews in organs in self-government, establishing for instance, a minimum training period of 5 years, and not of 2 years as the law states. There also was a case of violating the law on self-government for state enterprises, when delegates are first elected and only then, those delegates in line elected the workers' council. According to law, on the other hand, the council is elected in a general election--direct and balanced--by secret ballot.

Care over self-government of work crews is filled by the PRL Sejm, for they are independent of administrative, social and political authorities. In the framework of that protection a consultation point was created for worker self-government affairs in conjunction with the provincial parliamentary delegation. Experts in that field have office hours from 9-11, Monday-Thursday in room 138 of the Provincial Office Building in Lublin, 4-22 Lipca Street; telephone - 275-01.

Therefore, in questions of uncertainty concerning formal legal procedures connected with elections and activity of workers' self-governments one can receive counseling from specialists, in person as well as by telephone.

Opposition to Self-Government

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 29 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Justyn: "Who Doesn't Like Self-Government?"]

[Text] Up to recently it was still said everywhere that directors do not like self-government, and that's why they are not making efforts to reactivate them. Real life corrects those current opinions. Decisions about renewing activity of worker self-government organs have already been handed down. And what comes after this?

In one Bialystok enterprise an election commission created for carrying out elections to the workers' council, found itself in a deadlock. It established

election districts. It set down the number of council members, which have to be elected with, in my opinion, sufficient preparation. And it did not work out. More accurately--it did not work out from all angles.

In order for any kind of elections to take place, three things are necessary. An election organizer is needed. In this case it was the election commission. Candidates, from which one can select, are needed. If there are no candidates, there is no one to elect. And last of all, voters are needed. If there are no voters, there is no one for whom to elect. I do not know which one of these elements is most important. I think that all three have an equal significance. The order in which I listed these elements is therefore entirely random. One should not draw any conclusions from that.

In the previously-mentioned company, members to the workers' council were not elected in several election districts, because . . . they lacked voters. For these first elections it was established on the spot--because there still is no self-government statute--that elections in a district will be recognized as valid, if at least half of the overall number of workers included in a given district take part in them. Other solutions were also considered. One concept was discussed, in which the elections conducted in the second term would be recognized as valid, if even a smaller number of workers, set in advance, takes part in them. That concept however was rejected, arguing not without reason, that in such a system made up of a personal body of the work crews' representative organ, a minority can decide who gets elected, which would not be able to be reconciled with the principles of democracy. I do not disagree that within this is the serious consideration, in its assumption, that the majority wants to participate in elections; that it wants to elect its representatives. Because if the majority does not want to--if it shows a complete disinterestedness to these matters--then it should not, with its inactiveness, torpedo the intentions of the rest, who perceive the need to conduct elections and who strive to achieve that. That is why I would not be inclined to consider elections conducted in the second term by a gathering of less than half of those entitled to vote as undemocratic. But the election commission took a different stand and it should now be respected. It is plain and clear that election principles are established before beginning the elections, and not during the course of them and dependent upon the course they run.

Seeing that in one or two districts, elections did not result because of a lack of the required number of voters, an entirely unexpected legal problem came to light before the organizers. In looking for a solution to the deadlock, they put the question forth in this way: Is it possible now to deviate from the number that should be elected established in advance of workers' council members, and assume that the numerical make-up of that organ is that that actually were elected. In other words--was the workers' council already elected or not?

I do not think that the number of council members is the most important thing here because the law about work crews' self-government does not inflexibly define it. Admittedly the law states that the workers' council of a company is comprised of 15 members, but after this it adds that the statute of the self-government can define the number of council members differently--for more or less. And seeing that the statute outlines that, then the statute can change

it. Until there is a statute, one thing the commission must establish is how many members of the council have to be elected. I also would not dissuade it the right to change its previous settlements.

On the other hand I perceive the essence of the problem taken up here in the principle of proportionality that is binding in elections of members to the workers' council. It is a legal principle, and therefore must be unquestionably respected, under pain of invalidating the elections. If consequently, even in one election district, members to the workers' council were not elected in the amount, that according to the proportional division of "mandates" fall on that district, it should be assumed that the council's elections still have not been completed. Therefore, there still is not workers' council in this enterprise, and until the time that elections to that organ of workers' self-government are completed, a single director will execute its authority. Will that substitute execution of the self-government organ's powers by the director satisfy the workers? I have serious doubts about that. And workers from that plant should draw conclusions from that themselves. And they should not degrade the elections. The workers' self-government is not an organization functioning with the plant. It is an organizational structure of the plant itself. That is a very essential difference.

Misunderstandings in Self-Government

Bydgoszcz ILUSTROWANY KURIER POLSKI in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 83 p 4

[Article by Danuta Jarocinska: "Misunderstandings Surrounding Self-Government"]

[Text] "In grade school I had a teacher and educator; now I have only a professor." That is a frequently recurring statement, formulated by students of post-grade school pupils in the questionnaire devised by Aleksandra Biernacik from the Bydgoszcz Youth Palace, concerning self-government activity in educational positions on the second level. A contribution to the undertakings of the problem--not entirely new--of student self-government was the document of 8 September 1983 published by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, and titled "General Principles of Action for Student Self-Government." Wanting to familiarize Bydgoszcz youth with the postulates and recommendations contained in the work, school authorities organized a two day meeting of post-grade school self-government activists of the region in Komierow in January of this year. An open discussion on the form and difficulties of social action of young people was begun. One of many took place 21 April of this year in the Youth Palace in Bydgoszcz with the participation of representatives from the School Superintendent's Office of Education and Learning, teachers--school self-government advisors, as well as 12 pupils representing various types of schools.

Youth relates very critically to school groupings numbering very frequently over 1000 pupils. Now very hard it is to act in such a corporate body, where individual action or action undertaken by small groups of friends is lost next to mass action. It becomes evident, that for pupils of the same school, several years of study is not enough for them to get to know each other, except for maybe by sight because, for instance, according to the class schedule,

classes of basic trade school are not held at the same time as those of their contemporaries from the trade high school of the same school.

During the meetings many harsh words were directed to the school board and teachers. The former needs self-government apparently for propaganda, action and statistical purposes. They bring this to mind especially when national holidays approach and it is necessary to show it with the preparation of the academy and ceremonial appeals, and with participation in various types of legal manifestations.

On the other hand, rare is the school in which school board and educators see partners in finding solutions of everyday didactic and education problems, in self-government activists. Cooperative work of one or another teacher in organizing activities of an entertainment-recreational character--such as a discotheque, trips outside the city, etc.--are found in very sporadic cases. For, in the opinion of those in the discussion, many misunderstandings and conflicts come from the fact that the majority of teachers connect social activeness with grades, successfully suppressing initiative and drive of less-talented pupils. The fairly universal wish of youth is that professors not hinder pupils in work for the community.

"We don't demand cooperation, we don't expect involvement from professors in our afterschool undertakings, their approval is not necessary for us, but at least why don't the teachers not make it difficult for us to realize our ideas"--that's the viewpoint presented by many teenagers. This objection, formulated in light of the reality of educational centers, was illustrated quite extensively with examples.

The crisis of self-government activity in schools, of course, has a significantly broader base. Even the simplest social gage research shows a clear stratification of the student community, even in such small groups as classes. There are not very many groups that are really cohesive. It is necessary to look for the causes of that state of affairs beyond the school walls, not excluding the families and phenomena of social life in general.

Pupils much more willingly get involved in activities of an individual and joint character rather than of a lasting character. They have a tremendous unwillingness to burden themselves with various types of model functions in administration structures, such as: secretary, treasurer, chairman, etc. They probably fear loss of face more than their older colleagues because of the reason of unsuccessful ventures. They approach action initiated by school authorities or others less enthusiastically, or with outright unwillingness. They learned somewhere that passive persons are better off not getting directly involved in any kind of organization. They, however, have the right to criticize, but they themselves are beyond criticism because, in short, they do not do anything.

And maybe school self-government is already a relic. Maybe contemporary pupils do not need it. Those in the discussion prejudged in agreement this doubt as being favorable for the organization. Self-government is needed in schools, only it is necessary to adapt its forms of activity and structures to youth's

expectations. If participation of self-government representatives in educational councils is guaranteed in the document, or if a pupil can have a grade from a test changed to his advantage through guarantee of the class committee, let it not be fiction, but let it become an authentic element in play. Also, young people--and maybe above all young people--need to be convinced of their strength and worth. In connection with this they must have the possibilities to test themselves in various situations--those that are significant in school life and those of a more grave nature. It is because of that that youth have such a great need for a sympathetic teacher, who will help them in their activity, and will look beyond his subject matter.

This text is based on the statements of those present at the discussion on 21 April at the Youth Palace, where the interschool council for pupil self-government affairs operates. Youth from the college-prep High School No. 5, collective body of auto, food, construction, electrical and mechanical schools participated in the meeting. We encourage youth as well as teachers to express their personal opinion on this subject.

12281

CSO: 2600/837

PROVINCIAL BLUE COLLAR, TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Blue-Collar Workers-Aktiv Views

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 5 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Stefan Kurecki: "The Workers' Views" under the rubric "Principal Issues"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] On listening to the conference of the Warsaw worker aktiv it might be concluded that the national (worker, party activist, trade union, youth) delegates arrived to report on their good work as dictated by elementary economic logic, as desired by society and as planned by the government. Already at the outset of his speech, Jerzy Zalecki of JELCZ Plant reported that the factory fulfilled last year's plan, that it is reducing its production cost and that over the year its material expenditures declined by about 500 million zlotys. Jerzy Szczepanski of the Zielona Gora FALABUZ Cotton Carding-Machine Factory reported: "Life itself forced us to rationalize our work and last year we increased labor productivity 25 percent while increasing wages correspondingly." Stanislaw Fatajska of Zyrardow reported: "At our plant we set aside for modernization as much as 75 percent of profits and thus increased labor productivity 18.1 percent and saved about 100 tons of raw material."

I selected just these three examples, although many more of the kind occurred. Since there were more, someone observed not without reason that this is a reminder of the past, that this is the kind of reports we have heard at every conference in years past--reports on what we did, what we accomplished, what we overfulfilled: "Look comrades, we got something to boast about"--while all that time the crisis had been slowly ripening. Is the scenario about to repeat itself?

Such a view deserves being debated and should be debated, considering that it was precisely during that conference that joyful reports in the spirit of propaganda of success did not predominate. Joyful reports from the "front of the struggle" for production were at most marginal, or so it seems to me. Such reports were made several times from the podium, but they rapidly drowned in a sea of problems. The delegates from the provinces, mostly direct production workers, demonstrated at that conference that:

First, they do not follow any scenario and second, they have their own views and want to present them.

Yes, this is something genuinely new: the views of working people on whom rests the burden of the crisis. And I believe that this novelty will no longer disappear from our political scene. At the same time--as has also been pointed

out by all observers--the working people from the provinces did not speak for the authorities, did not kowtow to them or praise to the heavens their exceptional merits, but spoke about what they disliked, what they opposed, what should be done and what things should be like. This also represents a major change in our rutted political life, a valuable change which should be nurtured by both sides: by the authorities and by society.

Since the speakers at that conference demonstrated that they have their own views, we were dealing with a conference held in a markedly critical spirit, offering more open, sincere and proved--by examples--criticism than we have perhaps encountered in the last few months. But how else could it be, considering that we are living in the crisis era, or more exactly in the era of search for ways of surmounting the crisis, and considering also that these ways do not yet always prove themselves in practice but--like the reform, for example--still require revising with even many ideas and instruments as well as in extensive detail.

On what topic did the persons called "the worker aktiv" offer their views?

/First,/ the program for a rapid increase in production and maximum conservation of anything and everything (because, as known, waste in our economy is huge), has gained acceptance. This does not mean at the same time that this government program was accepted without discussion, that various of its aspects can survive doubts and criticism. Good wages only for productive work--this general principle met with support. The burden of the crisis must be distributed equitably--this also met with support. Rascals, bluebirds born on a Sunday [work shirkers] and individuals who amass fortunes instantaneously must be forced to work and share in social effort. But already such questions as taxes, new rules for admission to membership in housing cooperatives, or luxury goods caused a great deal of discussion. This also applied to the price policy. Protests were voiced against the practice of many plants in unceremoniously hiking their prices by burdening them with their own incompetence, poor management and inefficiency.

/Secondly,/ persons bearing the name of "worker aktiv" presented their views on the reform, which still inadequately reaches workstations. Here, the administration was blamed a great deal. Above all--such was precisely also the forceful tenor--there is too much of that administration and its results are poor. At the BIERUT Iron and Steel Plant, of the personnel of 12,500 only 4,500 work directly in production. For every worker there are several (surely very important) clerks and even more important managers. And at the Bydgoszcz Rolling Stock Repair Plant the workers brought about the elimination of 90 administrative positions without impairing the operations of the plant. It is difficult to decide from that conference whether workers blame administrators for the failure of the reform to reach them or whether they believe that administrators are not interested in the reform. At any rate, the thesis can be formulated that the "worker aktiv" favors a policy of reducing administrative staff.

/Thirdly,/ the workers talked about themselves, their self-concept, their work and their requirements. This issue was best expressed by Ireneusz Wapner of CEGIELSKI Rolling Stock Plant who demanded that workers and their fathers be treated justly and with the esteem they deserve for their current and past work. Workers have always been--it was emphasized--the first to shoulder the burden of the crisis, the first to be affected by the crisis and the first to start its reparation by deeds rather than just by words. These were reminders rather than demands and they sounded a note not of bitterness but of truth about the labor of the worker in general and under socialism in particular.

This conference has--as it appears--also met the expectations that it would bring society closer to the problems, atmosphere and mentality existing at the plants.

Blue-Collar Worker Initiatives in Economizing

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 19 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Unsigned article: "In the Conservation Program Every Zloty Counts: Worker Initiatives"]

[Text] The speaker is Wojciech Goralski, electrician at CZECHOTT Mine:

I and my fellow worker Henryk Przewoznik are electricians. We work in the new CZECHOTT mine under construction. As known, the area on which the new mine is being built contains--like the old Rybnik mines--large gas concentrations as well as what may be even more menacing to miners--concentrations of coal dust. We had and still have at our mine tremendous problems with the storage batteries installed in the dust-metering facilities.

We found that these storage batteries, which cost more than 2,000 zlotys apiece, rapidly break down and wear out, not through the fault of employees but through the fault of the conditions under which they operate.

We asked ourselves what should be done to prevent their rapid breakdown.

We had an idea! We designed an automatic programmed rectifier for shaping silver-zinc storage batteries.

This sounds very erudite. Basically, without going into detail, our invention helps reduce the labor-intensiveness of the molding of storage batteries and avert losses due to their damage.

We exhibited our invention at the Second National Exposition of Inventions that was opened yesterday. We expect that the R&D establishment of the mining industry, namely the Mining Electronics Plant in Tychy and the ZBUJAND in Katowice, will be interested in our solution and in its dissemination.

Perhaps our invention is not a big one when measured by the yardstick of the needs of the country, the region or even the subsector. But we believe that every zloty counts now that the conservation program is being widely discussed.

Trade Unions in New Developmental Stage

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 20 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by W. L.: "In a New Stage" under the rubric "From Trade Union Life"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Following the trade union elections, new members continued to join the union at the Clothing Industry Plants in Zbaszyn. As a result, as of 31 May, of the workforce of 962 at the ROMEO Department in Zbaszyn, as many as 845 (or 87 percent of the total workforce) were union members. In addition, 230 former workers retired owing to old age or disability declared their membership.

The active circle of pensioners and annuitants directed by Anna Rzepowa has 230 members. Thus altogether, as of 31 March, the desk of the union chairperson, Maria Andrzejka, already contained 1,123 membership declarations./

After 31 March new members continued to join, though at a slower rate. Those now joining will, pursuant to the union statute, be eligible for statutory allowances only after one year from the date of admission. (On the other hand, those joining prior to 31 March receive credit for work seniority.)

Following the initial period the union had to concentrate on settling various procedural matters connected with keeping records for such a large membership. In addition, the board had to settle current problems brought every day by members visiting the union's office.

/The funds are limited in relation to needs./ Thus it was decided that union allowances may be granted to members who submit written requests specifying the purposes for which he needs funds. The request may be resolved affirmatively on condition that monthly earnings of the petitioner do not exceed 5,500 zlotys (exclusive of compensation payments). It is worth noting that average gross earnings per worker are about 8,000 zlotys, exclusive of compensation.

/The management settles jointly with the trade union all major wage decisions./ Thus, e.g. it has presented at a recent session of the union board proposals to increase the financial bonus paid to workers distinguished with gold, silver and bronze badges of honor. Also on the agenda was a proposal to confirm the balance-sheet premium payable for last year to 38 bookkeeping employees. Considering that that group included several employees from the department in Swiebodzin, representatives of the trade union active at the Swiebodzin department of the ROMEO Clothing Industry Plants [ZPO] were invited to attend the discussions.

The Board also considered the management's proposals for distributing bonuses for the increase in exports during the last quarter of the previous year. It also settled four requests for union allowances in accordance with a previously adopted resolution. Currently, the organization faces a highly difficult problem. It is high time to decide what kind of assistance can be provided by the union as regards additional payments to workers receiving vacation chits as well as for their children when these are assigned to summer camps. (Of course, this concerns additional assistance granted in addition to payments from the social services fund.) It appears that the union will be unable to provide financial assistance for purchase of vacation chits. On the other hand, as regards children departing for summer camp, part of the fee paid by parents will be refunded to them by the union. But the amount refunded will differ depending on income per family member.

/Considerable assistance in attending to varied matters is provided by so-called "liaison-persons," elected in individual organizational units./ They represent the union interests of workers at the board and pass on the necessary information from the board directly to the workstations./ This tried and tested form of action is simply necessary considering that only one person--the chairman--is delegated to trade-union work. The other members of the board regard their participation in the work as a form of purely civic activity.

The practice so far leads to a more general conclusion: /Unless it can be eventually accepted that the salary of the union chairman is to be paid from trade union funds, that is, from membership dues, there appears to be no rational justification for burdening the tight union budget with the expense of that salary plus the premiums paid to the Social Insurance Fund [ZUS] and other fees (altogether 65 percent of the remuneration)./ Perhaps ZUS premiums should be paid by the plant instead. Or perhaps the matter should be discussed with the ZUS. Some reasonable solution has to be found. /This is in the interest of the entire renascent trade union movement./

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Something should be said about the Swiebodzin plant of the ROMEO, which has 450 employees, So far only 100 have joined the union there. The Swiebodzin organization apparently is not developing as rapidly as at the sister plant. Without going into the causes of this phenomenon, it should be stressed that, despite the mistrust shown to this still new organization by a large part of workers, it is growing at that plant too.

Krakow Discussions on Trade Union Formation

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 20 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by (RD): "Discussion of the Shape of the Trade-Union Movement Continues: 45,000 Trade-Union Members in Krakow Province"]

[Text] (Own information.) At the nearly 100 work establishments of Krakow Province at which trade unions are active, elections are already over and programs of action have been resolved upon. Preparations for either elections or registration of trade unions continue in an additional 450 plants. The largest numbers of trade union organizations operate in Nowa Huta, Podgorza, and also Wieliczka, Proszowice, Krzeszowice and Myslenice. The largest trade union at any one plant, which already has more than 5,100 members, operates at the Krakow Metallurgical Combine. The most vigorous development of the trade-union movement is taking place in industry, construction, education and trade.

The public atmosphere surrounding the renascent trade unions also is changing. Workers increasingly begin to understand the need for trade unions and their social functions--unions which not only defend worker interests and alleviate the social problems and living conditions of workforces but also mobilize them for better work.

The need to form supra-plant trade union structures that would represent employees of specific subsectors before the ministries and local authorities is increasingly often discussed. The greatest progress in this respect has been achieved in forming a federation of metallurgical trade unions with its seat in Katowice. The formation of similar federations of trade unions of food-industry workers and teachers also is being considered. Irrespective of this, at a meeting with the region's authorities, representatives of trade union organizations in Krakow Province proposed forming a regional representative body acting in behalf of trade union members on matters transcending the competences and possibilities of any single trade union. Such a structure would also be of a federative nature.

New Gdansk Trade Union Officers

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 23-24 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by (mag): Trade-Union Elections at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] One hundred delegates arrived last Friday in the conference room of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, in order to take part in electing the officers of the new trade union. The election meeting was attended by: Capt Walenty Milenuszkin, the chairman of the Province Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]; Jacek Rotajczyk of the Bureau for Cooperation With Trade Unions under the Office of the Council of Ministers; Andrzej Szulc of the ministry of metallurgy, and representatives of the shipyard's management as well as of the plant organizations of the PRON and the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSPM].

As a nearly symbolic gesture, representatives of all three trade unions that had previously been active in the shipyard--Solidarity, the subsector Trade Union of Metalworkers and the Autonomous Trade Union of Mariners of the PRL--were invited to join the meeting's presidium. The new trade union--as emphasized at the meeting--wants to take from the experience of these organizations all that was best in them while at the same time rejecting the directions and forms of work incompatible with the interests of the working class.

The Trade Union of Employees of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk has been--as declared in the report by the chairman of its founding committee, Krzysztof Skibicki--ever since its registration focusing chiefly on social-service, cultural and consultative activities. In the future, too, the union intends to continue these directions of action.

The floor was also taken by Capt Walenty Milenuszkin who, in behalf of the Presidium of the Provisional National Council and the Province Council of the PRON, warmly /thanked the shipyard workers for fashioning the beautiful ship bell and writing the letters transmitted several days ago to the Marshal of the PRL Parliament./ [printed in boldface] Capt Milenuszkin declared: "These symbols will be a permanent symbol of the presence of matters connected with the sea in the Parliament of the PRL."

This was followed by a discussion during which various problems important to the shipyard and its workforce were broached.

Following secret balloting, the 35-member board was elected, with Krzysztof Skibicki becoming the chairman of the Trade Union of Employees of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

UNDERGROUND ORGAN DESCRIBES REGIME PLOT AGAINST CHURCH

[Warsaw?] KOS in Polish No 23, 15 Jan 83 pp 2, 3

[Article by Jan Saleski for KOS, organ of the Social Resistance Committee--Solidarity: "Action 'Kruk'"]

[Text] During the Solidarity period, a situation arose that was abnormal and intolerable from the viewpoint of the authorities, that is, two organizations that were independent of the party (the Catholic Church and Solidarity) were so strong that their leaders met as equals with the leader of the party and government. Martial law eliminated Solidarity from the contest, but the power of the Catholic Church in Poland continues to keep awake nights the leaders of the Polish People's Republic as well as their Soviet principals. The reports from Russia unanimously stress the fear and stupefaction of the Soviet apparatus of the real power of the Church in Poland. This uncomfortable fact was scrupulously concealed by one Polish ruling group after another. Neither the authorities in Moscow nor the Polish People's Republic have become reconciled with the power of the Polish Church and they do not intend to rest until a "normal" state is achieved, that is all independent social structures are eliminated. Thus, at the present time one of the most important tasks of the authorities is to weaken the position of the Church.

According to reliable leaks within the SB [Security Service], an action under the pseudonym of "Kruk," aimed at the Church, has been initiated to weaken its position. Here is the projected scenario:

1) Create the impression that the government respects the primate's opinions, that he is an individual who is very influential. In this way the authorities want to convince the public that they are holding talks with the Church not because it is a real power but because they personally value Primate Glemp's position. The talks, which are taking place under the condition that the primate preserve the designated position, are creating the dissonance among the primate, clerics and public that the authorities desire, impairing national unity. Additional dissonance can result from the primate's conscious involvement in attempting to resolve disputes that are none of his business (for example, the actors' dispute), forcing him to give interviews in which he cannot give any good or true answers to some

questions, and in which he makes errors because he gets involved in matters which are outside the competence of the Church, and which the primate is forced to consider because of public expectations. These errors will be recalled at the proper time and will serve to prove that the primate is a private individual who does not represent public opinion. After all, talks to date have been held with him personally and not with the Church, and thus the matter of a dialog can be easily put to rest.

2) Take advantage of the public ill-will that is being caused by the primate's embarrassing moves in order to skillfully fan the flames of distrust regarding the Church. Less refined methods can also bring about this mistrust. The churches are distributing foreign aid; thus, it should be insinuated that they are stealing this aid. The words "THIEVES" and "TRAITORS" that have been daubed in black paint on the walls of the curia buildings in Warsaw, Krakow and Wroclaw are the work of SB functionaries carrying out the above scenario. Even if people do not believe, it at least arouses mistrust, which is enough in itself.

3) Conduct direct attacks on activist priests who in preaching the truth from the pulpits challenge all government propaganda. Introduce the concept of "priest-extremist" and picture him as an ignorant, provincial pastor, a museum-piece of reaction. The most active priests have been marked for constant, almost open surveillance by the SB that is designed to create psychological pressure under which the priest either backs down or allows himself to be provoked into actions which could justify his arrest.

4) Several trials of priests have been initiated in various regions of the country. This is a general test before more extensive action is taken. From the viewpoint of the authorities, the least profitable trial was the one of the vicar from Jaroslaw who was accused of "inciting young people". The mass demonstrations of young people near the jail and courthouse created such great pressure that the priest was found innocent. The trial of Father Zych has been judged to be the most profitable; he was included in the group that killed the militiaman Karos. Increasingly the facts indicate that this group was inspired by the SB, with special efforts made to involve the priest. The disinclination of our people against terrorism presents somewhat of a barrier to the realization of the SB's plans, but there is proof that preparations have already been made to create a pseudo-underground organization which would incite young people to armed activities. Its first task is to entice the most militant people; second--to conduct a series of trials (a couple of less important collaborators will be sacrificed) which is supposed to bring together the militia and army and turn the public against the entire underground movement; and third--to pull priests into their orbit (even if by chance) in order to justify a general attack on the Church. Then the pope's visit could be cancelled.

The "Kruk" project is going forward. It is doubtful that it will be very successful, but it can create much bad blood. And one more thing. It is doubtful that Primate Glemp is really counting on a permanent understanding between the Church and the authorities. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Jaruzelski's real plans do not include such an understanding. The general will not rest until he becomes the sole, indivisible authority in Poland (or rather the lease-holder controlled by the Kremlin). However, this means that there will be no rest for him. Never. Do we now face a new embodiment of Sisypheus?

CURRENT POSITIONS OF MAJOR RELIGIONS EXAMINED

Bucharest REVISTA DE FILOSOFIE in Romanian Jan-Feb 83 pp 76-80

[Article by Georgeta Florea: "Social-Political Orientations and Trends in the Main Religions of the Contemporary World"]

[Text] The religions of the contemporary world are integrated into the historical process in a contradictory manner, even more so since any change appears for them as a potential loss and as setback compared to the times when they dominated in an authoritarian manner. Any religion has an inalienable conservative dimension since it cannot change its essence - belief in the supernatural - but, at most, it modifies the manner in which it conceives the relationship of this with the human world. For that reason, in general, the religions do not encourage changes in either the plane of people's mentality or the plane of the social structures in which they are involved, except on the condition that these changes are favorable to the religions and contribute to the growth of their influence. This is why these religions are not inclined to take part in the real trends of the changes that have taken place in society, but, rather, make proposals either to stop the flow of history at a particular moment and to dogmatically repeat the same ritualized acts or to return to a past era. Despite this and although they tend to preserve their relative autonomy, religions, in their function as super-structural phenomena, are, in the end, determined by the nature and evolution of the overall social system and, as a result, whether they want to or not, are required to accept certain modernizations in their doctrine, rituals, institutional structures or social-political orientations in order to be able to accommodate these modifications.

Currently, and now more than ever, since the situation of the contemporary world is characterized by the simultaneous presence of certain divergent processes (some of which are functional and generate the accelerated progress of society and, implicitly, the diminishing and gradual disappearance of mystical-religious beliefs, while others, on the other hand, are dysfunctional and slow the ascendent evolution of mankind and favor the maintenance of the religious phenomenon), we are witnessing the appearance of numerous, profoundly contradictory doctrinal orientations and trends among the ranks of the major religions.

Thus, the victories obtained in the process of building the new socialist order, the movement of more and more peoples from capitalism to socialism, the elimination of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination, the accentuated

polarization that has occurred in the social and class structure of the capitalist system, the change in the relationship of forces in favor of revolutionary, antiimperialist and democratic forces, the growth in the role of the working class, the successes achieved by communists and socialists in political struggles, the attraction of the communist models and ideals, the proliferation of revolutionary movements in the most varied geographic, national, political, social and cultural regions, the priority of politics in social affairs, the politicization of the awareness of the broad masses, the changes that have occurred in human spirituality as a result of the ever broader echo of dialectic and historical materialism, the incomparable rise of science and technology, and so forth have caused the religions to enter a stage of deep crisis and have provoked a permanent decrease in their role and, especially, the role of social control. This requires them to carry out a continuing modernization and to resort to attempts to have a broader placement of believers in the affairs of communists. At the same time, the profound systemic crisis of contemporary capitalism that is aggravated continuously by countless financial and energy crises, raw materials crises, ecological crises and so forth, the persistence of certain anachronisms such as exploitation, social, political, economic, national and cultural inequalities, unemployment and underdevelopment, the maintenance or intensification of tendencies to redivide spheres of influence and to strengthen imperialist domination in different regions of the world, the existence of certain conflicts in international relations, the growth of the danger of war, the increase in the stocks of destructive weapons, violence, terrorism and drugs, as well as the irreversible alteration of the significance of some of the values accepted through tradition, and so forth are generating new forms of alienation of human beings, make acute the feeling of non-achievement and provoke phenomena of failing to adapt, isolation, marginalization and, as a result, the maintenance of many of the social categories under the influence and control of various religions or, at least temporarily, the revival of others long ago rejected.

Such situations artificially fuel the capacity of religions to resist the processes that irreversibly undermine their existence and provoke the unexpected rebound of some of their current social-political orientations and the quick transition, from time to time, from the defensive to the offensive.

The most spectacular contradictory process that currently characterizes the principal religions is the one generated by the modification in their traditional relationship with politics. This is due to the fact that the religions, each in its own way, propose an alternative to the current world, all have, more or less, a political dimension and are obligated to have a relationship to this priority field in contemporary social affairs. A series of religions or cults, such as ancient Buddhism and some neo-Orthodox groups (Stylists and Soldiers of the Lord) and the majority of the neo-Protestant groups (especially the Reformed Adventists, dissident Pentacostals and Jehovah's Witnesses) and so forth, are also today continuing to preach the passive waiting for "redemption" by their god or they absolutely prohibit their followers from engaging in any type of social, political or

cultural activism, with the exception of that promoted within the framework of that cult. Some of these religions go as far as to require their followers to violate the laws of the country, to not fulfill their duties as citizens (to not attend public schools, to not report for military service, to not vote, to not enter places of culture and so forth) and to boycott or at least ignore the political, social or cultural actions carried out in their work or social communities. Such attitudes show convincingly that these religions are absolutely incapable of being positively involved in history and that they are not in a position to understand or do not want to accept the decrease in the interest, beliefs and patience of lucid people regarding their claims about "sine die" delayed "salvation," the growing devaluation of the idea of "redemption through belief" and the constantly shrinking area of influence of religious reformism.

Under the pressure of certain changes of this type, other religions (for example, Catholicism, Protestantism or Islam) are making efforts to appear to their followers as being as involved as possible in contemporary social-political affairs.

In recent decades, for example, the chiefs of the Roman Catholic Church have not missed any opportunity offered by world political events without taking a public stand. Despite the fact that in some of the acute problems of international affairs it works discretely, without noisy gestures, and in others it presents its initiatives as being exclusively "religious" and "pastoral," Catholicism is ever more actively expressing itself on the social level, is demonstrating real adaptive abilities and is frequently resorting to the on-going reorientation of its fundamental political commitments.

Thus, although it continues to insistently claim its political "neutrality," the Roman Catholic Church is demonstrating its understanding of the fact that in the new international context it can no longer and, especially, must not - if it wants to reestablish its lost authority - appear to be an ally of reactionary forces. For that reason, every time it expresses its opinions in connection with the great social and political conflicts of our times it sets itself up as the defender of all those who are exploited and oppressed. Similarly, while several decades ago Catholicism was still justifying the capitalist system and defending the bourgeois property concept by virtue of a claimed natural right that corresponded to divine will, today it has moved, at least in its statements, to criticism of exploitation and ownership, colonialism and underdevelopment, the arms race and the policy of force or diktat, and so forth.

And, nonetheless, although Catholicism attacks the main problems of the contemporary world and moves closer, in many cases, to the position of the progressive forces, understands the need to defend and maintain peace, salutes the conferences for disarmament, urges the peaceful solution of existing conflicts and the intensification of international cooperation, and so forth, it is essentially limited in its political involvement by the fact that it cannot be identified with any earthly model by society, remaining tributary to the idea whereby the history of humanity is predestined and where the ideal

society could be instituted only as the embodiment of Christian doctrine. This explains why Catholicism swings indecisively between modernization and conservatism. On one hand, through its new social-political initiatives - generated by its understanding of the need to modernize - catholicism tries to create in the ranks of believers, especially Catholics, such a picture of the current role of the Church that gives it the most favorable position, one corresponding to the new social-political realities and always with the purpose of maintaining religion's adhesive power with the people and ensuring an increased credit for them.

On the other hand, Catholicism cannot renounce its premises, remains on conservative positions and advances the same utopian and unrealistic solutions that it has promoted since its inception. It does not renounce redemption through belief, it identifies only partially with the revolutionary struggles, it continues to ask for reforms that do not radically transform society, it presents in a distorted fashion the essence of social and political contradictions, it supports the illusionary possibility of achieving general solidarity through its appeals between antagonistic classes and between hostile nations, it attempts to substitute "Christian love" for the revolutionary struggle and to place the churches outside of the conflicts between ideologies, and so forth. Even when it is forced by events to recognize the need for struggle to have the social emancipation of people, it presents this requirement as if it were "from God" and a "project thought of by the Creator."

Equally contradictory attitudes regarding politics have also appeared in Islam.

For Islam, the possibilities for reorienting social-political involvement were slowed by the fact that, from the beginning, there was an organic blending of religious, political, social and even military elements. The Islamic religion promotes numerous ideas of equality, righteousness, freedom, and has, over time, made continuing efforts to adapt to the needs and problems of the struggle for social and national emancipation and against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Among its numerous sects, however, there still are significant differences with regards to its relationship with politics, as a field of the temporal and the secular.

Thus, the Shiites feel that any state is a priori illegal since it usurps the legitimate powers and functions of the Imam, the sole legitimate representative of Mohammed, Allah's envoy on earth. One ideologue of the Shiites, in justifying theocracy, said, "In our religion everything comes from God, who is represented on earth by the religious leaders. It is, therefore, normal for them to hold the highest position in society."

At the same time, the less orthodox Sunnites, Zaidites and so forth feel that temporal, lay power must be separated from spiritual, religious power. Other Islamic sects, on the contrary, are at the most extremist and intolerant political positions. In the Arab world, the fact that the revolutionary movements, or many of them, are evolving within the framework of Islam is due to the fact of its understanding not only as a religion, but also as a national, historical and cultural entity. During the period of colonial rule, Islam constituted

a means whereby the Arabs could save their language and culture and Arab civilization, something which still echos in the minds of many Arabs.

And, Islam is subjected to a modernization process that is significant for our epoch. The main purpose of this renewal is, however, that of creating the illusion that the Islamic religion is the sole means of rebirth for or creation of the nation, of promoting an anticapitalist policy, of egalitarianism and so forth.

From this point of view, it is creating three attitudes within its framework: a) the modernist one, which proposes moving away from tradition since this supposedly is the cause of delays in the Islamic countries, separating the religious institutions from the state, and exploiting religious feelings and beliefs for social-political purposes; b) the moderate one, which attempts to bring about renovations in Islamic traditions in order to thus open the path for progress, without denying the value of its heritage; and c) the traditionalist, extremist one, characteristic of the Orthodox Moslems, which rejects any value foreign to Islam, with the exception of some of the technical fields, especially military technology, and proposes a return to the purity of Mohammedanism of the seventh to tenth centuries.

The social-historical experiences to date fully verify the correctness of the point of view promoted by our party and by its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, whereby "religion should not and cannot interfere in politics. Any attempt to do this must be combatted since, one way or another, in this manner it becomes an instrument in the hands of the reactionaries."*

Such consequences appear ever more clearly in the case of some of the new religious movements in the West (the Moonies, Hare Krishna, transcendental meditation, the New Acropolis and so forth) which because of the specific nature of their political dimension are manipulated by reactionary organizations or circles (of the right, terrorist, neo-fascist) and by espionage agents directed against the countries of the world or they are deliberately involved in far-reaching political actions (in electoral campaigns, anticommunist crusades and so forth).

The new social and political trends and orientations that have appeared in the principal religions of the contemporary world, although they do not essentially modify the functionality of the religious phenomenon, do not always and under any social-political context lead to clear and immediate failures. On the contrary, by way of artificial means they can temporarily lead to a recrudescence of religious activity and, at the same time, create the illusion that religion, today, has become a force of the contemporary world, a mainstay of the revolutionary struggles

* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Working Conference of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, 5-7 September 1979," Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1979, pp 57-58.

and, thus, maintain belief in its claimed protest power. Under such situations, one must bring into the discussion the proofs of history which demonstrate that each time social movements have dressed in religious clothing they were not able to attain their economic, political or national objectives, they were not able to resolve the contradictions that generated these movements and they added other contradictions, complicating the situation even more.

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CSO: 2700/200

POZDERAC ADDRESSES BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 83 p 3

[Speech by Hamdija Pozderac, chairman of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, to the Association of Newsmen of Bosnia-Hercegovina: "The Pluralism of Interests in Self-Management Does Not Signify a Pluralism of Class Positions"]

[Text] Hamdija Pozderac, chairman of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, spoke yesterday in the series of discussions on current events of the Association of Newsmen of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Hamdija Pozderac began his address by saying: There might be several kinds of discussions of this topic, current ideological issues in the field of news reporting, but I feel that the most fruitful is that which would place certain real or imagined quandaries concerning it in the real framework of the reality of life in which it figures as a very important and significant aspect of overall relations and processes of self-management. The recent meetings of our highest party bodies, in which developments in this area of social practice were clearly, openly and critically analyzed, provide a good and sound point of departure for further analysis of ideological problems in the news media. I want to say at once that the system of public information and the system of social information are inseparable parts of a political system. This basic premise also presupposes that our discussion will move in the direction of how the news media can perform their social tasks to a still greater extent and in a more total way.

Authentic Mirrors of Society

Starting from there, I would say that there also exists our progressive political thinking about the system of news reporting, and that we are also witnesses of criticism of that policy in the news media, as well as in the opposite direction, for which there is quite a bit of evidence, which shows how complicated these relations are both as a category as well as in practice. It is, of course, indisputable that the news media in our society ought to be authentic and objective mirrors of society, since they record or interpret social facts, trends, occurrences and processes. That is why the basic question is how to interpret overall developments in society or indeed individual social segments. Much of what happens in our society is constructive and revolutionary, much is along the line of achieving the proletarian revolution and the power of the working people.

Criticism of our social practice has implied and does imply criticism of the news media, precisely because of their social function in defending, strengthening and developing the flows of the revolution, in building socialist self-management and everything that guarantees development of our community built on AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. That is also how one should look at criticism of the news media: this is the only true road toward their development and advancement. However, the critical approach of the League of Communists to this segment of the political system sometimes is not understood or is distorted even in the ranks of newsmen, precisely because of neglect of the basic point of departure which I have presented, Pozderac emphasized.

Enslavement to a Fetish

But that is not only the shortcoming of the news media. As a movement the League of Communists as a whole has been little concerned with propaganda work in the broadest sense, and, what is more, it has become all but unfashionable to mention the word propaganda. The very idea of propaganda in newspaper circles is interpreted here and there as a synonym of Stalinist practice, and enslavement to that fetish which has been hard to change also indirectly affects those who correctly perceive and understand the tasks and role of news reporting as a function of the political-ideological and social effort. Try to lay a finger on that situation in the name of the principles on which otherwise we all agree. At that very moment you expose yourself to the risk of being declared for internal purposes as a primitive, a bureaucrat, a technocrat, of being accused of disrupting the continuity of a traditional and established practice, of underestimating the nature of public opinion, and so on. This is actually an expression of elitism and an attempt to pluck the news media out of their proper place at the heart of our system and to turn them toward interests and goals opposed to a socialist self-managed society. Such arguments are not a defense of a supposed tradition, but a defense of traditional privileges; they do not fend the continuity of the cause, but the continuity of a privileged position. We decided to make an effort to overcome that kind of resistance and we will persist in this, since, just as it is true that all the difficulties do not have their roots in the subjective forces and in their shortcomings, likewise it is equally true that their activity is what must be reassessed and improved, since only the subjective forces can change the objective conditions and enter upon constructive processes.

Our news media are unique in the world in that they operate and have their function to perform in the system of socialist self-management, and they do not merely present a photograph of what is happening, but they also create or should create a picture of the situation and have a feedback effect through their creative and critical orientation on political-ideological developments and toward strengthening the consciousness of the working people and public at large.

Stimulate the Mobilization of the Working Class

Often there is very good writing and speaking about the various aspects of what is constructive and on the line of carrying out the socialist revolution,

of what is really happening in our country, but that writing and speaking is not enough. There are still few interpretations of facts and events which are able to stimulate the mobilization of the working class and other socialist forces in society to carry out the programmatic tasks of the League of Communists in the broadest sense of the word, to expose with convincing arguments the antisocialist and anticommunist tendencies and occurrences, Pozderac stressed.

Since the news media interpret both occurrences and events in society, whether they are the result of the activity of the subjective forces or the result of the haphazard course of events which are not on the line of carrying out the socialist revolution, we have to make a distinction between critical interpretations of errors made by the subjective forces or shortcomings occurring in society under the impact of haphazard developments which are aimed at altering the situation and changing relations in society from the standpoint of achieving the proletarian revolution, from those interpretations of the same facts which have a different dimension. Interpretations of the facts along the line of changing society, that is, of a replacement of society, along the line of negation of everything that has been achieved in society, and much has been achieved in just four decades, fall without any sort of dilemma into the category of nihilistic and negativistic criticism which tears down and destroys. This kind of "criticism" is undoubtedly suitable to all those forces and individuals operating from antisocialist and anticommunist positions.

Creative Criticism

Creative and constructive criticism is a prius of the democratic development of socialist self-management. If we go back to Kardelj, he warned that the subjective factor would interfere inappropriately unless we had more acute Marxist criticism in the sphere of the economy, culture and ideology. The more we supersede reality, then, in our reflections, instead of our practical action, the more that same reality will keep pounding on our head. We therefore need creative and well-thought-out criticism, but we do not need an apologetic press, but an open press which astutely, responsibly and thoroughly treats social problems, responsibly elucidating the real issues in society from various angles; the kind of journalism which has a mobilizing role and the kind of criticism which in criticizing what is wrong, affirms the constructive trends in development of self-management and contributes to realizing the class interests of the working class and the working people, the clearing of progressive pathways for still more democratic forms of life analogous to the programmatic principles of the League of Communists.

Criticism which calls into question the fundamental values of the system of socialist self-management, the leading role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the achievements of the revolution, or the historical merits and role of Tito and Kardelj for development of our revolution, is neither constructive nor is it socialist, and it does not deserve the status of authentic criticism, and we therefore resolutely reject it. Just as it is true that we

are building a society in which our political system makes it institutionally possible for a large number of interests to express themselves and facilitate their synthesis, so likewise we are not pluralistic with respect to the class foundation of our society. The pluralism of interests in self-management does not signify a pluralism of class positions, but the democratic method of expression and reconciliation of interests which the working people and public at large have in self-management, Pozderac especially emphasized.

As for criticism from the standpoint of achievement of the proletarian revolution, achievement of socialist self-management, of which there is quite a bit in our news media, I think that we have to regard such criticism with respect. Yet I have the impression that we have become sensitive even to this kind of criticism; that often we artificially classify this kind of criticism in the news media, in the broadest sense of the word, as caviling. This especially is important as a characteristic because often, together with the defense of our basic principles and values, we are also defending the primitivism that exists in their interpretation and vulgarization in carrying them out, which the League of Communists reduces in many places to the mere function of "defender of everything that exists." I think we are now in a phase of development of socialist self-management in which we must be much more open toward such criticism, much more self-critical toward certain manifestations which no longer can be defended in any way. Precisely because we are not open enough toward it--and one of the reasons is that we are adhering to unified views on these issues which are occurring, and which we are not defending in any way--recently that type of criticism is being confused with demagogy, with petit bourgeois spontaneity, with the most diverse derivatives of conceptions of "just socialism" and praises sung to the situation in the countries of real socialism, with extremist demands for effectiveness, even though it be bureaucratic. The situation in society is such that this issue has really been powerfully raised, which is why I feel that we should move faster and more vigorously in changing things which no longer have any defense.

More Effective in Action

The League of Communists must be out in front of the constructive criticism of the situation and relations in realizing the vision of the further development of the system of socialist self-management, confidently building unity of positions in action, in carrying out action and applying it to specific situations, in developing criticism and self-criticism within itself. We must have clear and understandable assessments of the numerous issues involved in the concrete implementation of policy, since our fundamental commitments are clear. Every stagnant situation in development of socialist self-management objectively gives rise to a certain disorientation, which demands that we display more effective creative activity. In these situations the League of Communists must be more effective in action, in seeking to resolve the numerous issues and to mobilize the working class around emerging from those objective contradictions in the development of our system. Even in such situations our news media are not "bridled," but their orientation toward the true social problems, toward criticism of what has been superseded and is outdated, but also toward affirming a constructive effort in finding and overcoming the problems and contradictions that have arisen, is a confirmation of their responsibility and their role in our society.

Two Sides

In this respect, viewed as a whole, we have not yet managed everywhere to arrive at a happy marriage between the broader interests of society and the more narrow economic interests of newsgathering organizations. I have the impression that the problem is less serious than it would appear judging by the slowness with which it is being solved, which is an expression of a strange abhorrence of the need for those two sides of the same situation to be thoroughly rationalized. The diverse nature of the content of that task is in many respects paradoxical: in some places there is a need to advocate creation of the most elementary conditions for informing the public (selling newspapers, coverage of radio and television broadcasting, etc.), while in some places we have entered into that breakneck race with the technical-technological development of modern means of communication and news reporting in which achievement of some particular goal makes it imperative that one take a new start without catching his breath in a race that is still more difficult because of the pace and the other conditions dictated by those who are most advanced, who are spreading their messages already with a global network (satellite television technology, to mention just one thing).

There is a need, then, for the situation and relations in every community to be analyzed regularly and in good time together with the working people through the political action of the League of Communists in all newsgathering institutions and periodicals, in the basic organizations of the League of Communists. It is indisputable that the socialization, that is, stronger development of the relations of socialist self-management, in this field, can significantly advance the methods of organization and the work content of editorial staffs of the news media. Exercising the influence of the public in the news media ought to be viewed in the context of openness to public scrutiny as the broadest component of their function. Now the influence of the public in them is frequently exercised on the basis of the representative and rather vague criterion of affirmation, rather than through the criterion of delegate effectiveness; so that fruitful meetings of editorial staffs and councils are encumbered by significant difficulties, although the exercise of the influence of the public ought to be promoted in the direction of developing the collective work of the editorial staff and effective relations with newspaper and publishing councils on the delegate principle. This would considerably augment the influence both of the other organized subjective factors and also of the broadest public, since it is the task of the news media not only to report the news, but also to communicate since they are the broadest and socially most desirable form of ideological activity. The main point of support in the action of the League of Communists are the party members in newspaper and publishing councils, who conduct and carry out the policy set forth in the commitments contained in the program and adopted at congresses. Encouragement must be given to party members and those institutions for constantly waging an ideological struggle proceeding from our clear premises, and so that personnel in editorial staffs are professionally competent and politically mature, with a good knowledge both of their own profession and of our situation and relations, Pozderac said.

An Unconstructive Approach

Certain groups and grouplets have managed to impose through certain periodicals the thesis that there is not enough freedom for expression of public opinion (by which they usually mean striking oppositionist activity). What kind of freedom does this refer to? The freedom of the working class to achieve full influence on the handling of all the affairs of society, the power of associated labor, or a free position, partnership, independent arbiter, the privileges of certain groups which are not much concerned about the interests of the working class.

There is a need for our news media to be still more objective and responsible, not apologetic, but combative and committed to the course of the struggle for further development of socialist self-management. An unconstructive approach, malicious, tendentious and indeed even nationalistic treatment of certain events in a segment of the news media are often a source of manipulation of anti-Yugoslav and hostile propaganda waged outside against our country. The news media have to free themselves of a one-sidedness of approach whereby they have described various discussions in our organs as disunity. After all, certain differences in views within the League of Communists have not infrequently taken the form of exchanges of fire through the press and television. There were cases in the past when people merely looked "over the fence" and saw ugliness only in other communities, but not in their own. That is why it is the responsibility of the League of Communists and of party members in the newsgathering system to consistently and firmly carry out the well-known views that have been adopted concerning the numerous issues related to concretization and operationalization of our newsgathering activity. Often the question about whether we are a unified party, one party, or not, are we achieving ideological unity or disunity in the League of Communists, is actually based on detection of various manifestations of specific interests and differing interpretations of those manifestations, which ought not to be disturbing. It is disturbing, however, that the League of Communists, as the leading ideological and political force, does not always have the right answers to those questions which are put, and, what is still more important, does not have an organized action under way to carry out what has been agreed on.

Differences in Implementing the Views That Have Been Adopted

Precisely because these things are lacking the impression is given that there is disunity in the League of Communists, though truly there is no real disunity in the League of Communists on the essential questions of our revolution. Regardless of what questions we put on the agenda both in the congresses and in meetings of the central committees, we have reconciled views concerning the basic questions of our revolution. We do not differ in the treatment of brotherhood and unity, in the treatment of the federal conception of Yugoslavia, the nonalignment of foreign policy and the building of socialist self-management, nationwide defense and social self-protection, and so on. On these things we are united and agreed in all respects to the point of political action, but it is precisely in carrying out those basic views that we differ because often we give in to certain interests which are special interests and which in the preliminary proceedings of reconciling views are politicized in

an adverse way and are raised to the level of a primary interest that is dominant over other interests, and then the conflicts begin which are like conflicts between the republics and provinces within the Federation or conflicts among sociopolitical communities within the republics and provinces.

Differences in interests among the individual sociopolitical communities within the same republics are likewise present, since certain interests are negatively politicized no longer solely at the level of the republics and provinces, but at the level of the opstina as a sociopolitical community, and indeed even in the basic organization of associated labor. That kind of interest then attempts to make inroads as the only authoritative interest and only important interest, as the sole and main interest as against all other interests, and then certain passions spring up, and the ultimate result is a lineup of forces and test of strength.

The Newspaper Market

I would also like to say something about the newspaper market, that is, about tendencies were it to become exclusive and to be carved out, though the press cannot and ought not be cut off. The market in the sphere of economic relations must not be cut off. Those tendencies must be frustrated even when it is a question of erection of barriers by OOUR's, regions, provinces or republics, we must even open up the Yugoslav borders when it is a question of forming associations at the international level. After all, the closing of markets is not in the interest of the working class. It is internationalist by its nature, by which I do not mean that it does not sometimes display egoistic interests, but it does carry within it the future of society and of life in this world. There is no justification, then, for any sort of closing off of markets, especially for closing off the market of the press, since the only way in which the market should be fought for is through the quality of news reporting activities.

On the other hand let us ask ourselves who is closing the market? The newsmen are not closing it, but they are burdened with a consciousness which would like the press to be "purely" ethnic, separated from class consciousness and the interests of the working class; a consciousness which also exists as a phenomenon with respect to confinement of economic relations to smaller frameworks.

However, ideas cannot be shut off; they must remain accessible to everyone. The right question is which ideas and what kind of ideas? If an idea is presented which cannot be accepted, it should be pointed out, there should be appropriate critical reaction, and as much democracy as possible should be applied in that discussion.

There Are Not Enough Specialized Newsmen

Although in our republic we have not had serious or disturbing cases of ideological and political destruction in the news media, we still cannot be

altogether satisfied with the situation we have, nor dare we halt in the search for better-quality creative work by newsmen. I think, Pozderac said, that the personnel situation in our news media is a serious question. As far as I know, we do have enough newsmen, but we do not have enough newsmen specialized in various fields who could authoritatively undertake to comment on and interpret occurrences and processes in various fields in the life of society. For example, it seems to me that earlier we had for the economy newsmen who were more competent and better equipped than today; the same thing applies to the political system as well, to understanding it and to its interpretation. There is quite a bit of outdatedness and traditionalism in the news media. All of us together should be devoting full attention to the question of training personnel, especially young people. The question is how we orient and educate young people for this extremely important public task. I ask you, even among newsmen one can hear it argued that journalism has been discredited as a profession and there are catchwords about a so-called "regime" journalism. If our journalism doesn't want to be "regime," that is, a part of this system, then the only alternative is to be antiregime. To be sure, individuals are pushing this, but it is still not to be underestimated, since in the sphere of ideas one cannot speak in terms of "more or less."

Although basic organizations of the League of Communists in the news media are not conflicting with this, I have often had occasion to hear how even some of our newsmen have been emphasizing by the method of comparison "how a particular newspaper is freer," "why should we not follow their example," referring to this or that text in the press or radio-TV programs.

Our republic has invested large resources to develop the news media, and it would be realistic to expect that on the basis of the technical-technological and other conditions we would have an upsurge in journalistic expression and in the quality of newspaper articles and contributions. I also have the impression that more attention and responsibility should be devoted to analyzing income relations in newsgathering organizations, and that along two lines: in the sense of finding ways of increasing their gross income and in finding solutions that would encourage creative work, first of all by personnel who represent quality and whose work is truly meaningful, Hamdija Pozderac, chairman of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, said in conclusion.

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ACCUSED SVETOZAREVO YOUTHS OFFER OWN VERSION OF EVENTS

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 16 Apr 83 p 9

[Letter to the editors by Vladan Jovovic, Nikola Milosevic and Srba Josijevic:
"Choose Your Papa in Good Time"]

[Text] For the past 2 months the "case" at the Veljko Vlahovic Educational Center--where allegedly there were serious manifestations of nationalism, Chetnik-ism, and even glorification of Hitler--has been a charged topic of newspapers, the radio and television, and of gossip. Now the principal "offenders" have spoken out for the first time. We on the editorial staff are agreed: this is one of the most dramatic letters which we have ever received. And we ask: After this letter can we all sleep peacefully?

[Cartoon superimposed on article]

Elektron

Anniversary issue
Newspaper of electrical engineering
students at Belgrade University

"Make me young again!"

The First Spark

We will take the autumn of 1982, that is, the beginning of the new school year, as a beginning of the story, though its roots are much deeper.

It was last fall, then, that the decision was made for the pupils of the educational center to work on construction of the limited-access highway passing by Svetozarevo in order to earn funds in this way for school trips. The organization of that project was turned over to the school conference of the center's SSO [Socialist Youth League]. Everything that followed was the embodiment of the organizational incompetence and laziness on the part of those who accepted a job which they were unable to perform.

The center also has a student body community which figures as the supreme body of self-management by the students. The community elected the three of us as

its commission to investigate everything related to this work on the highway and together with the school SSO conference to achieve the best possible organization of work and distribution of the money earned. In doing that job we were in a position to see all of the oversights related to work on the highway as well as the leaderist ambition of the presidium of the school conference. We pointed all this out in comradely fashion in a meeting of the school conference and immediately offered concrete proposals to improve the situation in preparation and performance of work on the highway. The presidium of the youth organization responded to all that with accusations that we were undermining the meeting, with assertions that they had not been making mistakes. Marxist philosophy would refer to such attitudes as dogmatic, but we did not tell them that. It would not in any case have done any good, since they would not have understood.

We no longer called their attention to the errors, we simply did not want to quarrel with them, since the leadership of the youth organization was incapable of establishing any sort of different dialogue.

That was the beginning of a conflict which we did not want. Incidentally, since it did involve this center, there was talk in the town at that time about how "certain people" wanted to remove the principal of the school, since "someone" wanted to take his place.

The Second Spark

The second spark flashed when together with our friends we took the initiative to start a school paper. It was inevitable that someone would take such an initiative, since the effort to inform the center's student body and faculty numbering about 2,200 came down to the occasional issuance of bulletins of a sort whose level of language and appearance were not even worth discussing.

Several pupils were involved in preparing the newspaper, which was not the case when the bulletins mentioned were issued, and an art teacher also worked with us. But the entire project fell through when the president and secretary of the center's youth organization took pains to prevent the paper from coming out. The reason: the content of certain articles did not suit them, for example, one which spoke about the double standard of certain youth officials and the need for better work with young people, and another which exposed an attempt to fix a game by the soccer team almost all of whose players are students at the center, and so on. Because this did not suit the two of them (the others were not even asked their opinion), the newspaper could not be published.

Thus the conflict with the presidium of the youth organization deepened.

A bit later the newspaper HORIZONTI [HORIZONS] was supposed to come out as the organ of the center's Marxist Discussion Club, but it never saw the light of day. Let us just say about HORIZONTI that that paper, described to the public as the reincarnation of anarcholiberalism and who knows what other evil, was supposed to facilitate a critical (note well, not caviling!) approach to topical issues, the examination and also the search for the causes of various social problems, and certainly with an effort to find ways of solving them.

However, thanks to certain people with no political education, who know only that "positions have to be taken," "wait until those positions become clear," "undertake actions everywhere and at every point, always and at every time," "with vacillation as to how and in what manner achievement of the resolutions adopted is to be made possible" (all these are examples of reiteration and redundancy from the school itself); it was because of those people, then, that HORIZONTI was proclaimed to be a platform for preaching the politics of bourgeois liberalism (we wonder if those people know the meaning of all these terms which they use excessively whenever they come upon them).

The First Flame

Following this lengthy introduction we have arrived at the finale and the evening devoted to the history of Nazism's coming to power in Germany. The three of us had prepared that evening just as we had prepared numerous previous lectures of the Marxist Discussion Club, the history section and elsewhere. An error which consisted of mistaken use of the adjective "dedicated" crept into the invitation to that evening.

Assuming that there would be people who (not to say "of the sort who") would interpret this maliciously, we wrote a notice for the students in which we unambiguously said that this evening would be a critical portrayal of the personality of Adolf Hitler and Nazism, accompanied by the statement that everything should be done to prevent a recurrence of the events in our recent past.

Along with all that Vladan Jovovic, who was giving the talk, explained the error in the invitation at the outset and thereby eliminated any question of tentativeness and the lack of a critical attitude in taking up this topic.

The talk, which was not made from a written text, was based exclusively on the historical facts and material published by our daily press, and then on passages from history textbooks and the like.

The teachers had a great deal of praise for the talk and did not criticize it. When history teachers are of that opinion, and they are supposedly qualified to speak about history, then it means that everything is alright. But there was "someone" whom it did not suit for things to be alright.

The lecture was attended, by order of the opstina LC committee, by Dragoslava Sabljic, the center's librarian. During the lecture she was constantly noting down what she needed, who knows why.

Well, if Vladan had known, and had he written out his speech for that evening, then Comrade Sabljic would not have had to make a transcript, but would have been able in the written version to underline and interpret the words and thoughts to her heart's desire. But Vladan did not write out his talk because it was easier for him to speak without a written text and because he believed in people's good faith. "To be a lad is to be mad," as our elders say, since if we had been a bit older and more experienced we would have known that one should not after all have unlimited trust in people, at least not in everyone.

It is interesting that not even Comrade Sabljic or any of those present had any objections to make at the time about the talk. The objections arrived after some delay, and aside from that they were unfounded.

That same evening after the talk (this all took place on 8 February of this year) the president of the center's youth organization took the three of us into a room where the president of the opstina youth organization was. Here the president Radomir Lukic showed us some kind of book [several lines illegible]. Lukic also asked Jovovic for a copy of his speech about Nazism's coming to power, and since it had not been written down, as we have already said, Lukic satisfied himself by "confiscating" the notebook in which Vladan had several ideas for the talk and his diary. Lukic must have been very much intrigued by that diary, since it was written in French, and there were also passages in the notebook in Spanish. What a challenge for someone who likes detective stories and mysteriousness to carry off passages in some unknown language! Comrade president kept the notebook in question, telling Vladan to come for it the next day in the building which houses the sociopolitical organizations.

Lukic also delivered a speech, returned the notebook, and when he left the building Vladan was awaited by an inspector of the state security service, who took the notebook away from him.

The First Fire

It was on 8 February that we began to run the gauntlet, that was when we began to be talked about everywhere, but no one wanted to talk to us. That was a time when everything was falling for us, our weight and our blood pressure, and even our morale a bit, but we did not let them break us down. We were innocent, we did not allow them to condemn us.

The newspaper HORIZONTI was confiscated as "evidence" of our subversive activity, although no one with any sense would have even thought of anything like that. Good sense, we say, in good faith or, at least, neutral.

Then on 15 February a party meeting was held in the school. We were discussed, but we were not allowed to attend. We were given permission to attend the next party meeting, 3 days later. The resolutions were read from the previous meeting. In those resolutions we were convicted of unacceptable nationalistic behavior because of glorification of Hitler, the attempt to publish HORIZONTI. To put it simply, everything possible was loaded onto our backs. Along with that there was mention of poor work in educating and bringing up young people, disrupted human relations, underdeveloped self-management, and everything that goes with it and for which the professional administrative officer, i.e., the principal, was responsible. We wanted to tell the people there the truth, the real truth, to tell them and prove to them that everything we were charged with having said about Hitler actually amounted to words and sentences maliciously taken from Jovovic's talk out of context. We stood our ground. Vladan Jovovic asked to speak when Tomislav Veljkovic, secretary of the LC basic organization in the center, who was chairing the meeting, called for discussion of the resolutions. No one asked for the floor except

Vladan, but Veljkovic did not give him the floor. Vladan's hand was raised for several minutes, and yet no one reacted. Not even the president of the opstina, nor the chairman of the opstina committee who were present, nor any of the [illegible] from the center of whom there were [illegible]. No one.

Then the resolutions were put to the vote, [several lines illegible] ... the meeting was suddenly adjourned.

[Illegible] ... at that time, and indeed later, we were left exposed to a wind in which everyone had to throw stones at us and spit on us to their heart's content, and no one was accountable for that.

In late February the state security service summoned Vladan Jovovic and Srba Josijevic for separate interviews. The interview was rather friendly, without the investigatory tone, accusations or insinuations. The inquiry into our "case" was terminated, and the director of the center was notified that we were "clean" and that the "case" was closed as though it had never occurred as far as the state security service was concerned. But even that was not enough for some people.

That is, in early March articles appeared in the newspaper about the events at the educational center in Svetozarevo. The newsmen passed on what had been written in the resolutions of the center's basic organization of the LC, our initials were published in POLITIKA as though we were juvenile delinquents. We called upon Veljkovic, secretary of the basic organization of the LC, for the school to deny those articles, since there was no evidence, nor did even the state security service charge us with anything. Veljkovic refused any part of such a denial, since, he said, there were photographs showing Vladan Jovovic wearing a fur cap and old Serbian medals and then there was Vladan's admission that he had spoken from nationalistic positions, and he was informed of all this by people in the state security! And he told us this only a few days after that same service had cleared us of any responsibility. What Veljkovic said to us was not only an out-and-out falsehood, but also serious slander against us. And, still more essential, that slander came from someone who was the party secretary and a teacher, that is, a man who ought to be a true teacher, but isn't.

First Traces of an Understanding

Finally, on 4 March we ourselves were able to say something. On that day a meeting of the school conference of the SSO was held, attended by newsmen and Petar Damjanovic, president of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SSO, who was a guest.

Many people spoke that evening, but only two were applauded: Vladan Jovovic and Petar Damjanovic. Vladan, when he explained the view of the situation from that other side which until that time had been silenced, and Pera when he spoke about communists who were that only in meetings, but not on the street or in a store, about those who like to work behind people's backs, without an open discussion.

In that same meeting the school's librarian, Dragoslava Sabljic, who has already been mentioned, accused Vladan of being arrogant and indecent, but she did not say why, nor did she explain what gave her the right to act as a monitor on duty in a meeting of the youth organization.

That meeting warmed the cockles of our heart, since we were able to explain to the young people our own view, and since the young people understood that we were not guilty. The attempts by Tomislav Veljkovic and students who are members of the presidium of the youth organization to accuse us of unacceptable behavior and statements were in vain.

But you never know when something bad is going to happen: the committee issued assessments of the situation in the center, and here again we were put in a bad light. The assessments were arbitrary, since they spoke about our having worn Serbian-style garrison caps, riding breeches and cockades, though no one living could have confirmed that for the simple reason that it never happened. Radoslav Jovanovic, committee chairman, spoke everywhere about that costume of ours and our unacceptable behavior, yet he never once met us, nor did he summon us in for a talk after these "events," nor did he point out to us our "oversights." Moreover, Lukic, chairman of the opstina conference of the SSO, said that we had refused his invitation to come to talk to him. Though none of us remembered when that invitation had been sent.

Our confidence in people was restored after a talk with newspapermen from Radio Belgrade, ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA and AUTO-SVET. These people wanted the facts, precisely what no one was able to offer them either in the committee or in the youth organization. They had "gotten at" at least a part of the truth, and that, the most important for us, that we were innocent of the charges against us. We had to say that we had been very much hurt by what some of the daily papers had written, but that we did not blame the newsmen, since they were only passing on the reports from the center's basic organization of the LC and the committee and presidium of the opstina's youth organization.

That is why it was very strange that precisely those forums were accusing the newsmen of presenting half-truths and hearsay, yet precisely those half-truths (that is, falsehoods) and tales were the basis of the previous reports and the resolutions of many meetings held in Svetozarevo.

Putting Out the Fire

We will mention only one more interesting moment, on 9 March. A meeting was held of the party organization in the school. Again sticks and stones were thrown at us, at the newsmen, at the school.... However, after the principal of the school announced his resignation, a different attitude was taken, and the discussion took on a milder tone. The center was no longer a hotbed of laziness and a poor effort in education and upbringing, and the chairman of the committee took responsibility upon himself for everything that had been "deviant." And why should we make atonement for the sins and oversights of others, if such sins there actually were?!

But we did not give in and are not now. They wanted to punish us, most severely (which means expulsion from the school), and they still want to. We hope that they will not succeed in this, since something like that would signify a defeat of justice and truth.

Nor is this the first time that they have wanted to degrade one of us and throw us into the mud. There is still talk in the town about the application for a scholarship from Tito's Fund which Vladan Jovovic wrote and the manner in which it was rejected, with the justification that Vladan's father had been convicted, so that he could not receive a scholarship. Both laughable and pitiable. Yet in his entire 11 years of attending school all the teachers have had only the best to say about Vladan; when someone is to represent the school in some competition, they call him, when some talk is to be given, again let Vladan do it, they all pat him on the back and say: "Jovovic is the best student in our school, the joker we use for every occasion." Yet when it comes to giving him a scholarship, there is no scholarship for Vladan. Who can blame him for not having chosen another father before he was born.

Thus Vladan has two scars: one from his father, and another from the Svetozarevo political soulsavers and careerists. Srba and Nikola were fortunately spared the first of these, but they still bear the second one. Probably, though we are absolutely innocent, we have been marked for life thanks to those who needed to climb over us to attain their base aims. But the essential thing for us is that other "ordinary" people know who is responsible for all this that has been attached to us, for them to know that our conscience is clear both within ourselves and before them.

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END